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THE PLACE-NAMES

OF

BEDFORDSHIRE

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No. XLII.

THE PLACE-NAMES

OF

BEDFORDSHIRE

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BY THE

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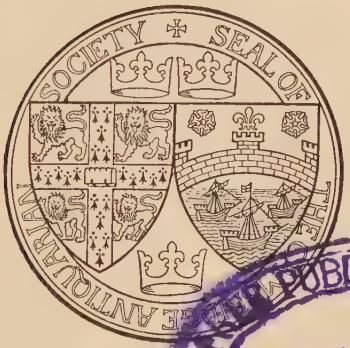

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THE PLACE-NAMES OF BEDFORDSHIRE.

Prefatory Remarks.

In 1901 my essay on "The Place-names of Cambridgeshire" was published for the Cambridge Antiquarian Society, and a little later the same Society published my second essay of the same character on "The Place-names of Huntingdonshire." In 1904 the East Herts. Archæological Society accepted from me and published a somewhat larger pamphlet on "The Place-names of Hertfordshire," nearly all of which had previously appeared from time to time in the columns of the *Hertfordshire Mercury*.

The Editor of the *Bedfordshire Standard* kindly granted me permission to send him, from time to time, during the year 1905, portions of a similar essay on "The Place-names of Bedfordshire," which now appears in a revised form; on which account I am indebted, for the third time, to the Cambridge Antiquarian Society.

A few preliminary considerations, of wide application, may conveniently be here given.

1. The place-names of Bedfordshire are nearly all of native English origin; and are always formed according to the strict rules of Anglo-Saxon grammar.

2. Nearly all these names are of one or two types. Either they are significant of possession, like Eversholt; or they are descriptive of position, like Millbrook. The former name refers to a *holt*, *i.e.* a plantation or wooded hill, which was first permanently taken possession of by a squatter whose name, in modern spelling, would be *Ever*; whilst the latter refers to a

brook on which some one built a useful and conspicuous *mill*. The name *Ever* occurs again in Evers-den (Cambs.) and in Evers-ley (Hants.). It is spelt *euer* in Middle English (where the *u* is sounded as *v*), *Eofor* in Anglo-Saxon, *Eber* in German, and *Aper* in Latin. The literal sense is 'a boar,' but it was freely used as a personal name. The English name Eofor occurs in the famous old poem entitled Bēowulf, and the Roman name Aper is mentioned by Tacitus. The German Eber-hart (hard or strong boar) was spelt Euerard by the Normans; whence our modern Everard.

A place-name like Millbrook is formed, like *cart-horse*, by simple juxtaposition; but in possessive names the former part of the word occurs in the genitive case. *Evers-* answers to the A.S. (Anglo-Saxon) *eofor-es*, gen. of *eofor*. The genitive form depends, in Anglo-Saxon, partly on gender; but if we confine our attention to the names of men, which are masculine, the rules are not difficult. In fact, these two will suffice.

1. If the nominative ends in *-i* (in very early times) or in *-e* (as is more usual) or in a consonant, then the genitive ends in *-es*. Examples: *Ini*, later form *Ine*, gen. *Ines*; *Eofor*, gen. *Eofores*. Ini or Ine was a famous king of Wessex, only known (I fear) to most of us in the Latinised form *Ina*; which was certainly not his real name.

2. Nearly all other nominatives end in *-a*, and take a genitive in *-an*. Thus the genitive of *Offa* is *Offan*.

Conversely, the genitive form *Ines* assures us at once that the nominative could not have been *Ina* in true English. But it may be said, once for all, that our old Latin historians made a sad hash of all native names.

The only book that seems to have been occasionally consulted by former investigators is the celebrated Domesday Book; but it must be remembered that in many cases this famous record only gives Norman spellings, and that such spellings not unfrequently misrepresent such English sounds as the Norman scribes could not easily pronounce. It is usually the case that a somewhat later spelling by a native scribe gives a far better idea of the true sound of the name.

The most authentic sources of information are the Anglo-Saxon Charters. I refer to the well-known editions by Kemble and Birch, and to the select charters edited by Earle and Thorpe. We find also a few names in the Crawford Charters, edited by Napier and Stevenson. There is no good county history. The account of Bedfordshire in Camden's Britannia is very brief and poor, and the few remarks upon place-names are worthless. His statement that Bedford "implies *beds and inns at a ford*" is ludicrous, and cannot be reconciled with his other (correct) statement, that one A.S. form of the name was Bedan-ford. For the A.S. *bed* is neuter, with a gen. singular *beddes* and a genitive plural *bedda*; and not one of its cases ends in *-an*. Moreover, it doubles its *d* in the course of declension.

Besides the Charters, it is also necessary to consult the A.S. Chronicle, and any other early writings in which place-names are mentioned. Some of the Charters only exist in late copies, and some of these exhibit Norman spellings, the peculiarities of which must be allowed for.

I append the names of some other useful records; with the abbreviations which denote them.

A.M.—Annales Monastici, ed. H. R. Luard (Rolls Series); vol. iii. 1866. This volume contains the Annales Prioratus de Dunstaplia.

Cat.—A Descriptive Catalogue of Ancient Deeds (Record Series).

C.R.—Charter Rolls; Calendar of the Charter Rolls in the Public Record Office; vol. i. A.D. 1226—1257. Ed. 1903.

Cl. R.—Close Rolls; Rotuli Litterarum Clausarum in Turri Londinensi asservati. Ed. T. D. Hardy (1833). Vol. i. (1204—1224).

Cl. R. 2.—The same (1844); vol. ii. (1224—1227).

D.B.—Domesday Book.

E.T.—Ecclesiastica Taxatio (1291). Ed. 1802.

Ex. R.—Exchequer Rolls; Rotulorum Originalium in Curia Scaccarii Abbreviatio; vol. i. Ed. 1805.

F.A.—Feudal Aids (Record Series); vol. i.

H.R.—Hundred Rolls (Rotuli Hundredorum); vol. i.

H.R., vol. ii.—The same; vol. ii.

I.p.m.—Inquisitiones post Mortem, sive Escaetarum; ed. J. Caley; vol. i. (Record Series).

R.B.—Red Book of the Exchequer; ed. W. D. Selby (Rolls Series). See the index in vol. iii.

R.C.—Ramsey Chartulary; ed. W. H. Hart. See the index in vol. iii.

T.N.—Testa de Nevill (Hen. III.—Edw. I.).

T.R.—Tower Rolls; Rotuli Chartarum in Turri Londinensi asservati; ed. T. D. Hardy (1837).

Many of these contain an index of personal names as well as of place-names. Both should be consulted, because many of the former refer to the latter.

When I cite an Anglo-Saxon personal name as being on record, I mean that it is duly inserted in Searle's Onomasticon Anglo-Saxonicum, which contains a fairly complete list of all such A.S. names as are found in printed documents.

In explaining the meanings of place-names, it is best and clearest to arrange them according to the suffixes which they contain. Thus Melchbourne and Woburn will be considered together, because both contain the suffix *-bourne* or *-burn*.

The number of suffixes found in Bedfordshire is upwards of forty, and they are all of native English origin; a fact which is of great significance. There is scarcely a trace of Norse or Danish, and if there be any Celtic, it only occurs in river-names, which I do not pretend to explain. A good deal of worthless talk has been spent in the past in trying to find Celtic origins for many words that are not Celtic at all. There has never been much Welsh in Bedfordshire since the time of Ecgberht, at the latest.

The English suffixes found in Bedfordshire are, most of them, readily intelligible, and may conveniently be here enumerated. The chief ones are: *-borough*, *-bourne*, *-bridge*, *-brook*, *-bury*, *-cliff*, *-cote* or *-cot*, *-den*, *-dish*, *-don*, *-ey*, *-field*, *-ford*, *-grave*, *-hale* (*-hall*), *-ham*, *-hanger*, *-head*, *-hill*, *-hoe*, *-holt*, *-hurst*, *-ing*, *-lake*, *-ley*, *-low*, *-mead*, *-mount* (*-mont*), *-pool*, *-sand*, *-snade*, *-stead*, *-stoke*, *-stow*, *-thorpe* (*-drop*), *-ton*, *-tree*, *-wade*, *-well*, *-wick*, *-wold*, *-worth*, and *-yate*. Some of these require some elucidation, but they are not difficult. It is further convenient to consider at the same time such names as Hatch and Heath, because they are used as suffixes in other counties, though they here occur alone. A few other names are noted afterwards.

As to the names selected, they include all (I believe) that are recorded in Kelly's Post Office Directory of Bedfordshire (1903); not excepting small hamlets that are included under the heading of the parish in which they are situate. The smallest appears to be Budna, included in Northill, and represented in the Directory by a single house.

The various suffixes above noted will now be discussed in their alphabetical order. Nearly all the names are to be found in Bacon's County Atlas, though they are not all in the index. The index to Philips' County Atlas is, on the whole, a better one. Pigot's Atlas (1831) has some older spellings.

1. Borough.

Borough is from the A.S. *burh*, of which the oldest sense was a small fort. The dative case *byrig* is the source of the modern E. *bury*. See further under Bury (p. 8).

Eddlesborough.—Bacon's Atlas marks Eddlesborough Green, near Eaton Bray, as being in Beds., though Eddlesborough itself is in Bucks. However, as the sense is certain, it may as well be here considered. We find these spellings: *Edolvesbur'*, Cat.; *Edulvesburwe*, F.A.; *Eadulfes-*, as a prefix in Kemble's Index to his Codex Diplomaticus. Eadulf is a late spelling of Eadwulf; and the meaning is 'Eadwulf's borough.' Elstree in Herts. means 'Eadwulf's tree.' Of the common name Eadwulf, no less than eighty examples have been recorded.

2. Bourne, Burn.

The A.S. *burn* meant a brook or a small stream. Examples occur in Husborne Crawley, Melchbourne, Redbornestoke, and Woburn.

Husborne Crawley.—Called in Philips' Atlas by the name of Crawley Husborne. In Pigot, Husborn and Crawley are marked as separate, Husborn being the more northerly. Bacon marks a Crawley Heath. When double names of this

kind occur, one of them (usually the latter) is often the name of the chief family resident in (or once owners of) the place in question. But in this case both names are place-names in origin, though Crawley became a family name also. We find the following old spellings:—*Crawelai*, D.B.; *Craulee*, T.N.; *Husseburn*, E.T.; *Husseburne*, R.B., I.p.m., A.M.; *Husseburne Crauele*, F.A.; *Husseburne Crawel*, H.R. In a great many instances, the suffix *-e*, as found in D.B. and other Middle English spellings, represents the A.S. suffix *-an*, a genitive form from a nominative in *-a*; and so, in this case likewise, *Husse* represents *Hussan*, genitive of the A.S. name Hussa, of which four examples are known. Hence Husborne means 'Hussa's stream.' The stream is also known as Crawley Brook. The meaning of Crawley is given under -LEY (p. 37).

MELCHBOURNE.—Spelt *Melceburne*, D.B.; *Melcheburne*, R.C.; *Melcheburn*, H.R., E.T., T.R.; *Melchbourne*, F.A. The prefix answers in form to the Middle English *melche*, *milche*, modern E. *milch*, full of milk; but this epithet seems only to be applied to cows. Another *melch*, in the English Dialect Dictionary, means 'mellow' or 'soft,' but seems to be only applied to fruit or eatables. There is another *melske* in a Danish dialect, given by Molbech, answering to A.S. *milisc*, which meant 'sweet,' as applied to mead or to a honeyed drink. It is possible that the last of these is here referred to.

REDBOURNESTOKE.—Here Redbourne seems to mean 'red stream'; see further under -STOKE (p. 44).

WOBURN.—Spelt *Woburne*, *Woberne*, D.B.; *Woburne*, R.B.; *Woburn*, H.R.; *Wouburne*, F.A.; *Wuburn*, Cat. In an A.S. Charter dated 969, mention is made of the Woburningas or men of Woburn; see Birch, Cart. Saxon. iii. 517. From A.S. *wōh burn*; literally, 'crooked stream.' I find it impossible to trace streams on the new Ordnance map; what with 'contour-lines' and boundary lines, the task is hopeless. Any other map is often clearer; the crooked stream appears in Pigot's Atlas (1831).

3. Bridge.

Stanbridge.—Spelt *Stanbrigge*, F.A.; *Stanbrugge*, A.M.; *Stanbruge*, I.p.m. The A.S. *brycg*, a bridge, is spelt both *brigge* and *brugge* in Middle English. The whole name appears in the A.S. *Stānbrycg*, *i.e.* 'stone bridge.' The A.S. long *a* is shortened before *nb*, instead of becoming the long *o* in *stone*. The bridge is at Stanbridge Ford, near the station, at some distance from the village. Stone bridges were once rare, and therefore notable.

4. Brook.

Examples occur in Millbrook, Sharnbrook, and Tilbrook.

Millbrook.—Spelt *Melebroc*, D.B.; *Milebrok*, H.R.; *Mulebrok*, *Melebroc*, F.A. The vowels, *e*, *i*, *u*, are various ways of representing the A.S. *y*, which was sounded like the German modified short *ü*, and had no invariable equivalent in the French alphabet used by Norman scribes. The A.S. form is *mylen-brōc*; from *mylen*, a mill, and *brōc*, a brook. *Mylen* is not a native word, but borrowed from Lat. *molina*, a mill.

Sharnbrook.—Spelt *Scernebroc*, *Sernebvoc*, D.B.; *Scharnebroke*, *Schernebroke*, F.A.; *Scharnbrok*, E.T. The Normans wrote both *sc* and *s* to denote *sh*, when an *e* followed. The A.S. prefix is *scearn*, meaning 'filth'; showing that the brook, at one time, was in a bad condition. A dung-beetle is still called a *sharn-beetle* in Hampshire.

Tilbrook.—Spelt *Tilebroc*, D.B.; *Tylebrok*, F.A. Here the *-e*, as usual, represents an A.S. genitive suffix *-an*; and *Tilebroc* answers to A.S. *Tilan brōc*, *i.e.* 'Tila's brook.' Many names ending in *-a* were really pet-names or shortened names, and *Tila* may very well have been a pet-name for *Tilbeorht*, a name which occurs six times. Bacon's Atlas calls the brook the river Til, but this is doubtless a name made out of Tilbrook; the very same stream, after passing Kimbolton, is called the Kym, in spite of the fact that Kimbolton means 'Cynebald's town'!

5. Bury.

The form *bury* represents the A.S. *byrig*, really the dative case of *burh*, a fort, modern E. *borough*. The sense is 'fort,' and it is common in many counties. Place-names, in Anglo-Saxon, were often in the dative case, the preposition *æt* (modern E. *at*) being understood.

Examples occur in Howbury, Limbury, and Millowbury. Also in Ickwell Bury, and in other cases where it is written separately.

Howbury lies to the North of the Ouse, between Bedford and Barford. The prefix *How* is the same as the *Hough* in Houghton, and means 'a spur of a hill.' See further under Houghton (p. 50). The sense is 'hill-fort.'

Limbury.—Called in Kelly's Directory Limbury-cum-Biscot; and near Leagrave. These places lie to the N.W. of Luton. A certain John de Lymberi is mentioned in F.A., p. 145, who at p. 155 of the same is called John de Lyndberi. We thus learn that Limbury stands for an older form Lindbury, which is easily understood; since the A.S. *lind* means a linden-tree or lime-tree. The sense is 'lime-tree-fort.'

Millowbury.—Named from Millow, to the N. of Edworth; which is spelt *Melehou*, D.B.; *Melho*, C.R.; *mulnho*, F.A. Here *mele, mel, muln* are all from the A.S. *mylen*, a mill; see Millbrook (p. 7). *Ho* represents the A.S. *hōh*, a spur of a hill; which is further explained under the heading Hoe (p. 29). Thus Millowbury is 'the fort on the mill-hill,' or 'mill-hill-fort.'

6. Cliff.

Cliff is here used in the sense of declivity or steep hill. It occurs in Hockliffe, whence the name of the poet Hoccleve. Spelt *Hocheleia* (in a Latinised form), D.B. Better spelt *Hocclive*, E.T., H.R., T.N.; *Hocclyve*, I.p.m., F.A.

In the will of Æthelstan Ætheling, one of the six sons of Æthelred II., king of England, by his first wife, dated 1015, there is mention of land at Hocganclife; where *clife* is the dative of *clif*, a cliff. This is identified with Hockliffe by

Thorpe, in his Diplomatarium, p. 561. The sense is 'Hocga's cliff.' The A.S. *cg* was pronounced as *gg*. The A.S. Hocga is allied to *hocg*, a hog; which occurs also as a proper name in Hocges-tun, *i.e.* Hog's town, noted in Kemble's Index, vol. vi. p. 300.

The A.S. *hocg*, a hog, is not given in any dictionary, and its existence was not known, until it was discovered by myself in some fragments of a charter, written on two strips of parchment lately found inside a book-cover in the library of Queens' College, Cambridge. See Proceedings of the Camb. Phil. Society, Michaelmas Term, 1902; p. 15.

7. Cote, or Cot.

Cote or *Cot* is the old word for a cottage or small detached house. The double form is due to the double form in Anglo-Saxon, viz. *cote*, dative, and *cot*, nom.; or else *cotan*, dat., from the fem. nom. *cote*. It occurs in Biscott, Caldecote, Caulcott, Eastcotts, Holcut or Hulcote, and Thorncote.

Biscott, or Biscot; N.W. of Luton.—Short for Bishop's Cote. We have this on the evidence of Domesday Book, where it is spelt *Bissopescote*. The sound of *sh* was often denoted by *ss* by Norman scribes.

Caldecote; E. of Northill.—Spelt *Caldecote*, I.p.m.; found also in other counties, as Cambs., Northamptonshire, Rutland and Warwickshire. It represents the A.S. dative *cealdan cote*, or rather the Old Mercian *caldan cote*, meaning 'at the cold cot'; as explained in my Place-names of Cambs., p. 28. By 'cold' was meant that it was in a bleak situation; or, possibly, that it was a mere shelter, unprovided with a fire-place.

Caulcott; in Lower Shelton, near Marston Moretaine.—The same name, but occurring in the nom. case. Old Mercian *cald cot*, *i.e.* 'cold cot.' Spelt *Calcote*, I.p.m. But of course it may have been shortened from the form above.

Eastcotts; near Cardington.—Spelt *Estcote*, R.B. The prefix means *east*, formerly spelt *est*.

Holcut, or Hulcote; near Salford.—Both spellings are in Kelly's Directory. The former should be Holcot, as *cut* is unmeaning. Spelt *Holcot*, F.A.; *Holcote*, E.T.; *Holecote*. D.B. The last spelling represents the A.S. *Holacotan*, which occurs in King Eadgar's grant of land at Aspley, A.D. 969; printed in Birch, Cartularium Saxonicum, iii. 517. This evidently refers to this very place. *Cotan* is the dat. case of the weak fem. sb. *cote*, a cot. *Hola* is the A.S. *hola*, a hole, or hollow place, closely allied to the adj. *hol*, hollow. The sense is 'cot in the hollow.'

Thorncote; in Northill.—*I.e.* 'cot by the thorn-tree.'

8. Den, Dean.

From the A.S. *denu*, a valley. Much confused with *-don* in modern names; but they can usually be separated by the old spellings. Still, the separation requires great care.

It occurs in Dean, Ravensden, Stagsden, Stodden, Wilden, and Yielden or Yelden. But in Battlesden, Harrowden, Maulden, Warden, the suffix should rather be *-don*; and they are treated accordingly under that heading. It is quite possible that both suffixes, *-den* and *-don*, may have been used in some instances; *-den* would then refer to the valley itself, and *-don* to the hill above it.

Dean.—A common name in many counties; from the A.S. *denu*, dat. case *dene*, a valley. Spelt *Dene*, D.B., T.N., I.p.m.; *Deen*, R.C. Dean, in Hants., is represented by A.S. *æt dene*, where *dene* is the dat. case; see Earle, Land Charters, p. 487.

Ravensden.—Kelly remarks that it was formerly *Ramesden*, a spelling I have not found. But it makes no difference to the sense, because the A.S. *hræfn*, a raven, was also spelt *hræmn* or *hræm*. The sense is 'Raven's valley.' Raven was a personal name, as well as the name of a bird. It is remarkable that Ramsey, in Hunts., does not mean 'Ram's island,' but 'Raven's island.'

As to the old spellings, we find *Ravenisden*, H.R.; *Ravenysdene*, F.A.; but also *Ravenesdon*, E.T.; *Ravensdon*, I.p.m.

STAGSDEN.—Evidently so named by popular etymology; as if from *stag*, with which it has nothing whatever to do. Kelly says, "formerly *Stachedene* and *Staggisdene*." The latter I have not found; it can only be quite a late and worthless spelling. The forms are: *Stachdene*, *Stachedene*, D.B.; *Stachedene*, F.A., H.R., vol. ii.; *Stacheden*, H.R. Also *Stachesdene*, F.A.; *Stachisdene*, H.R., vol. ii. In I.p.m. we also find mention of a place named *Stache* (Somersets.), and of a *Stachewelle*.

Stachis or *Staches* appears to be not A.S., but rather the gen. case of a Norman form *Stache*, which I take to be short for *Eustache*, the Norman or Northern French equivalent of the French *Eustace*. Similarly, in the Close Rolls, we find *Magister Stachius*, short for *Eustachius*; and *Stace*, as a proper name, is short for *Eustace*, which was formerly accented on the *a*. As a matter of fact, D.B. records that Earl Eustace had land in Stagsden, so that the place may easily have been named after him, as he was a person of great consequence at that date. The land had originally been granted to his father, who is known to history as Count Eustace II., of Boulogne. This Eustace II. married no less a person than the sister of Edward the Confessor, and had caused no small trouble by his outrageous conduct at Dover, as is duly narrated in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, under the year 1048. He was wounded in the battle of Hastings, and was rewarded by William with grants of land in no less than ten counties. See the Digest of the Domesday of Bedfordshire, by W. Airy, 1881; p. 30. It is a pity that Mr Airy should refer, at p. viii, to the "evident" derivation from "the two A.S. words *stag* and *den*"; for *stag* is not an A.S. word at all, but Norse. It occurs once, in the Laws of Cnut, where it has to be explained; but did not really find its way into English till long afterwards. I doubt if it can be found earlier than the fifteenth century.

STODDEN.—The name of a hundred. Spelt *Stodene*, *Stodden*, D.B.; *Stodden*, H.R. From A.S. *stōd*, a stud of horses. The sense is 'stud-valley.'

WILDEN.—Spelt *Wildene*, D.B.; *Wylden*, E.T.; *Weledene*, F.A. We have here to do with a descriptive name, as the

forms suggest. In the present case, *wil* may be short for the A.S. *wilig* (in which the final *g* was hardly heard), an occasional form of *welig*, a willow tree, which will account for the spelling *Wele*. A willow is still called a *willy* in many provincial dialects. We have clear evidence that Willbury Hill (Herts.) is from the same source; as shown in my Place-names of Herts., p. 71. The hundred of Willey is similarly named; see it discussed below, under the suffix -LEY (p. 39). Thus Wilden means 'willow-valley.'

YIELDEN, or YELDEN.—The old spellings are curious, viz. *Giveldene*, D.B.; *Givelden*, Cl. R.; *Gyuelden*, E.T.; *Gyvelden*, *Yeveldene*, F.A. The A.S. *g* (before *i*) was sounded as *y*; and all the prefixes may be reduced to an A.S. form *Gifel*, in which the intervocalic *f* was sounded as *v*. This A.S. *Gifel* is a river-name, the same as the modern *Ivel*. There is another and larger Ivel, which flows through Biggleswade, and a third Ivel in Somersetshire, which flows through Ivelchester or Ilchester. And it is much to be suspected that the river Isle, in Somersetshire, which flows past Ilminster, is only another form of the same name. See it further discussed under NORTHILL (p. 34), which is considered under the suffix -ILL, since it is wholly unconnected with the more common suffix -HILL. We may explain Yelden as Iveldene, or 'Ivel valley.'

9. DISH.

The English *dish* (A.S. *disc*) is sometimes used in the sense of cup or hollow; the Oxford Dictionary explains it as sometimes meaning a concave surface, or a depression in a field.

FARNDISH; near Poddington.—Spelt *Fernadis*, D.B.; *Farnesdisch*, T.N.; *Farendis*, E.T.; *Farnedis*, H.R., vol. ii., F.A.; *Farndisch*, I.p.m. Also *Farnadich*, *Farnediche*, F.A. These forms strongly support the view that the suffix is really *dish*, and not *diche*. The Norman scribes usually write *s* for *sh*, but *dice* or *diche* for *ditch*. Compare the D.B. spellings *Sernebroc* for Sharnbrook, *Eseltone* for Shelton, and *Sethlindone* for Shillington. Neither does *Farndish* stand alone; for there is a Brookdish on the N. bank of the river Waveney, a little below

Scole, in Norfolk; and there may be others. In spite of the varying spellings of the former element, the word meant is clearly the A.S. *fearn*, fern, which is very common in place-names. Kemble's Index (p. 286) has a whole column of instances. It is possible that *Ferna-* may represent the gen. pl. *fearna*, 'of ferns.'

The sense, viz. 'fern-hollow,' is precisely the same as that of Farncombe in Surrey, where *combe* is of Celtic origin, and equivalent to the Welsh *cwm*, a hollow, a dingle.

10. Down, or Don.

A *down*, A.S. *dūn*, of Celtic origin, meant a hill-fort, or often simply a hill, especially one with a more or less flat top. When it occurs as an unaccented suffix, it is reduced to the form *-don*, and is then often confused, in modern times, with the suffix *-den*, a valley, with an almost opposite sense; and sometimes with *-ton*. We can often distinguish them by the old spellings; but there may be instances in which the name was really double, *-den* being applied to the valley, and *-don* to the hill above it.

Examples occur in Battlesden, Caddington, Harlington, Harrowden, Honeydon, Maulden, Pegsdon, Roxton, Shillington, Stondon, Sundon, and Warden.

Battlesden.—Spelt *Badelesdone*, *Badelestone*, D.B.; *Badelesdone*, F.A.; *Badelesdon*, E.T.; *Badeleston*, I.p.m. These forms answer to an A.S. *Badeles dūn*, *i.e.* 'Badel's down'; where *Badel* is a personal name. This name is not otherwise known; but the closely related weak form Badela occurs in *Badelan brōc*, *i.e.* 'Badela's brook'; in Kemble, Cod. Dipl. iii. 343, l. 19. As *d* is sometimes altered to *th* by confusion with the A.S. crossed *d* (with the sound of *th*) it is probable that the name *Batheles mere* (in R.C.) is an error for *Badeles mere*.

Caddington; near Luton.—Spelt *Cadendone*, D.B., F.A.; *Cadendon*, Cat.; *Cadindon*, E.T., H.R.; *Kadindon*, T.N. From A.S. *Cadan-dūn*, lit. 'Cada's down.' Cada is a known name.

In this case, the original suffix *-an* has first become *-en* and then *-in*; both of which changes are very common. And finally

-ing has been substituted for *-in*, and *-don* turned into *-ton* by confusion with the numerous names that end in *-ington*.

HARLINGTON, to the N.E. of Toddington, on the Midland Railway.—Spelt *Herlingdone*, D.B., A.M.; *Herlingdon*, E.T., F.A., H.R. It thus appears that the original suffix was *-don*, for *down*. *Herling* answers to the A.S. *Herlinga*, gen. pl.; as seen in *Herlingaham*, cited in Kemble's Index. *Herlinga* is the genitive of the pl. *Herlingas*, *i.e.* sons or tribe of *Herl*. But *Herl* is obviously a much contracted form, and due to some A.S. name beginning with the very common prefix *Here-*. Almost certainly, *Herl* here represents Herulf, a common contraction of Herewulf, a well authenticated name. We may conclude that Harlington means the 'Herewulfings' down,' or the down occupied by the family of Herewulf. The A.S. *-ing*, meaning 'son of,' and the pl. *-ingas*, meaning 'sons of,' or 'family of,' are extremely common. Neither is there any difficulty in the reduction of *wulf*, often called *ulf*, to a simple *l*; for it occurs again in Eddlesborough and Elstree, as has been already explained under BOROUGH (p. 5). There is another Harlington in Middlesex, and an East and West Harling in Norfolk. I explained Harlton in Cambs. as meaning 'Herela's town,' where "Herela is a pet-name formed from a name beginning with Here—such as Herebeald or Herefrith." Of course I should rather have said—"such as Herewulf," which would have accounted for the *l* at once.

HARROWDEN; near Cardington.—This is a clear case of a double sense in the suffix. Harrowden is marked in the Ordnance Map as being in a valley; but it must have taken its name from the hill above, marked as Tinker's Hill, and rising to the height of 135 feet above the sea. For the old spellings clearly show this. It is spelt *Herghetone*, *Hergentone* in D.B.; but *-tone* is an error for *-don*. We find elsewhere *Harwedone*, R.B.; *Harewedon*, I.p.m.; and *John de Harwedone*, R.C. The D.B. form *herghe* represents the A.S. *hearge*, dat. of *hearh*, a heathen temple. This is clearly shown in Birch, Cart. Saxon. i. 530, where *æt hearge* (lit. at Harrow) is employed to denote Harrow-on-the-Hill, in Middlesex. The sense is 'temple-down.'

We obtain, from the very names, the interesting information that there were once heathen temples both at Harrowden and on the hill at Harrow. *Hearh* was only applied to an old heathen place of worship, which was often on a hill-top. As the English usually destroyed these, after their conversion to Christianity, we can hardly expect to find relics of them now. Yet it is highly probable that the conspicuous church at Harrow-on-the-Hill occupies the very site once selected for the worship of idols.

HONEYDON, to the west of Eaton Socon.—The hill is conspicuously marked in Bacon's Atlas. I find no early notice of it; but it doubtless means 'honey down.' The A.S. *hunig*, honey, appears in several place-names; notably in Honeybourne, co. Worcester, spelt *hunig-burnan* (in the dative) in Birch, Cart. Saxon. ii. 2.

MAULDEN, near Ampthill.—The road from Clophill to Maulden rises to 278 feet above the sea. The name is probably of double significance, Maulden having been suggested by an older Maldon. Spellings are *Meldone*, D.B.; *Maldon* (Beds.), E.T.; *Maldone, Maldene*, F.A.; *Meldone, Maudone*, R.B. There is another Maldon in Essex, mentioned in the A.S. Chronicle as early as A.D. 913. It is there spelt *Mældun*; and in the Parker MS. the *æ* is marked as long. This accounts for the spelling *Meldone*, with *e*. The A.S. *mǣl* (with long *æ*) meant a cross, mark, crucifix; *Cristes mǣl* meant the sign of the cross. Maldon means 'cross-down,' and it is probable enough that crosses were erected at both places in some conspicuous position.

PEGSDON, or PEGSDEN; to the east of Hexton (Herts.).—Spelt *Pechesdone*, D.B.; *Pekesdone*, F.A. Also *Pekesdene*, *Pekysdene, Pekesden* (in Shillington), R.C.; *Pecchesdene*, A.M. As *che* in D.B. means *ke*, usually written *ce* in A.S., the equivalent form to *Pekesdone* in A.S. is *Pēces dūn* or *Pēaces dūn*; which may be associated with *Pēaces dēl* in the will of Æthelstan Ætheling (A.D. 1015) in Earle, Land Charters, p. 226, l. 1. If this be right, the sense was 'Pēac's down'; or, in modern spelling 'Peak's down.' The name may be connected with the Peak

in Derbyshire, called *Pēac-lond* in A.S. We find the name of Miles de Pek, who was a tenant in Shillington, and Richardus de Pecco; both in R.C.

Roxton, N.W. of Tempsford.—Originally from a form which should have given Roxdon. Spelt *Rochesdon, Rochestone,* D.B.; *Rokesdone, Rokesdon,* F.A.; *Rokisdun,* Cl.R.; *Rokesdon,* E.T. The prefix answers to A.S. *Hrōces,* gen. of *Hrōc,* a rook, also used as a personal name. The sense is 'Rook's down.'

There is a Ruxox Farm to the W. of Flitton. The spellings *Rokesac, Rokeshoc,* in A.M., explain it. Both *ac* and *hoc* represent the A.S. *āc,* an oak; so that Ruxox simply means 'Rook's oaks,' originally 'Rook's oak,' in the singular.

Shillington.—Beyond all doubt a more correct form is Shitlington, or rather Shitlingdon. It is spelt Shitlington in Pigot's Atlas (1831) and in Magna Britannia (1720). Still earlier, the suffix is *-don.* The old spellings are *Sethlindone* (for *Shetlindone*), D.B.; *Scitlingdune, Scutlingdon, Scytlingedune, Schitlingedune,* R.C.; *Shutlyngdon,* Cat. In Thorpe's Diplomatarium, p. 383, a late copy of a charter has the false form *Sucklingdon,* but the footnote gives *Scytlingedune* (for *Scytlinga dūne*), from a much better MS. It may be noted that the *e* in the D.B. form, and the *i* and *u* in the other forms, all alike represent an A.S. *y.* Hence the name means 'the down of the Scytlings,' or sons of Scytel (or Scytela), a diminutive form connected with the known name Scytta, which means 'an archer': from *scēotan,* to shoot.

Stondon, near Henlow railway-station.—Spelt *Standone,* D.B., R.C.; *Stondone,* R.C.; *Staundone,* R.C.; *Staundon,* H.R., E.T. All from A.S. *Stāndūn* (Kemble), *i.e.* 'stone-down.'

Sundon.—Spelt *Sonedone,* D.B.; *Sonendon,* E.T.; *Sunondone, Sunendune,* A.M.; *Souendone, Souyndone* (with *u* misprinted for *n*), F.A. All from A.S. *Sunnan-dūn, i.e.* 'down of the Sun'; see Thorpe, Diplomatarium, p. 580. The peculiar gen. form *sunnan,* in place of the usual *sunn-* in composition, suggests that the goddess Sunne (the Sun) was once worshipped here in heathen times.

WARDEN, or OLD WARDEN.—Spelt *Wardone*, D.B., F.A.; *Wardon*, H.R., E.T.; *Wardune*, R.C., R.B. From the A.S. *weard-dūn*, lit. 'ward-down,' *i.e.* a look-out hill, a hill used for watching the approach of strangers.

11. EY.

The suffix *-ey* (sometimes *-y*) represents the Old Mercian *ēg*, A.S. *īeg*, *īg*, an island. The term was freely applied to sites that were not real islands, but had water partly surrounding them. Examples are seen in Arlesey, Sandy and Turvey.

ARLESEY.—Also spelt Arsley (as in Philips' Atlas), but incorrectly. Spelt *Alricesei*, *Alriceseie*, D.B.; *Alrichesey*, I.p.m.; *Alricheseye*, *Aylrichesheye*, F.A. The spelling *heye* for *eye* by Norman scribes is not uncommon. The fullest form is the last, neglecting the second *h*. *Aylriches* is the regular representative of A.S. *Ægelrīces*, a late form of *Æthelrīces*; and the sense is 'Æthelrīc's island.' The name *Æthelrīc* (also spelt *Ægelrīc*, *Ailrīc*) is extremely common; more than sixty examples of it are known.

SANDY.—D.B. has *in Sandeia*, in the ablative case; *Sandeye*, F.A.; *Saundeye*, E.T.; *Sondheye*, H.R. *Eye* is the usual M.E. spelling; *heye* is very characteristic of a Norman scribe. They seldom understood the true use of *h* before the fourteenth century. The sense is certainly 'sand-island'; not the adj. *sandy* (A.S. *sandig*), which was spelt *sandy* in Middle English, just as it is now.

TURVEY.—Spelt *Toruei*, *Torueie*, D.B. (with *u* for *v*); *Turfeye*, *Turveye*, Exchequer Rolls; *Torfeye*, *Tourveye*, F.A.; *Turveye*, *Turfeye*, H.R., vol. ii.; *Tureueya*, E.T. We often find *o* written for *u* by Norman scribes. The prefix is the A.S. *turf*, turf; and the sense is 'turf-island.'

12. FIELD.

As in Cranfield, Froxfield, Wingfield. CRANFIELD.—Spelt *Cranfelle* (for *Cranfelde*), D.B.; *Cranefeud*, T.N.; *Crangfelde*, *Cranefelde*, R.C.; *Craunfeld*, E.T., F.A. Lit. 'crane-field.' In

the Aspley Charter, dated 969, printed in Birch, Cart. Saxon. iii. 517, there is a reference to the *Cranfeldinga dic*, or 'dike of the people of Cranfield'; and again, to the spot where three boundaries met, viz. 'Crancfeldinga and Merstuninga and Holacotan,' *i.e.* of the people of Cranfield and the people of Marston and of Holcote.

The spelling *Cranc* in this passage and the spelling *Crang* in R.C. are not necessarily wrong. The German *Kranich*, a crane, has a final guttural; so that there may very well have been an A.S. form *cranc* (for **cranoc*) with the sense of 'crane,' though the form in common use was *cran*. Compare the entries '*grus, gruis,* cornoch,' and '*grauis* [error for *grus* or *gruis* ?], cornuc,' in the Corpus Glossary, 995, 996.

Froxfield; marked in the Ordnance Map at the entrance of Woburn Park on the road from Eversholt. The prefix is the same as in *Froxwell*, cited in the I.p.m. In fact, we find *Froxa-felda*, dative, in a charter of 965–975, in Thorpe, Diplomatarium, p. 527. The nom. is *Froxa-feld*, lit. 'field of frogs'; from A.S. *froxa*, gen. plural of *frox*, a frog.

Wingfield; to the S.W. of Chalgrave.—Spelt *Winefelde*, R.B.; *Winefeld*, A.M.; so that *ng* has been substituted for *n*, and the true name is Winfield. For A.S. *Winan feld*, *i.e.* 'Wina's field.'

13. Fold.

From the A.S. *falod*, *fald*, a sheep-pen, a fold for cattle.

Stotfold.—Spelt *Stotfalt*, D.B.; *Stotfold*, F.A.; *Stotefold*, E.T. Compare also *Stotfoldeslade*, R.C. It can hardly be a mistake for *stōd-fald*, an enclosure for a stud of horses (Bosworth-Toller). The former element is, rather, the equivalent of the Middle English *stot*, meaning (1) a horse, (2) a bullock; see Stratmann's Dictionary and the English Dialect Dictionary. The form *stotta* (though not in the A.S. Dict.) occurs in *stottan-wille*, *i.e.* 'stot-well'; Birch, Cart. Saxon. iii. 184; in a charter dated 957. We may explain the name as meaning 'stot-fold'; and understand *stot* to mean either a young horse or a bullock. Cf. Stottesdon, co. Salop.

14. Ford.

It occurs in Barford, Bedford, Girtford, Langford, Salford, Shefford, Stanford, Tempsford.

Barford.—Spelt *Bereforde*, D.B., R.C., R.B., E.T.; *Bereford*, F.A., T.N., I.p.m. The A.S. form is *Beranford*, better *Bœran-ford*, as in Birch, Cart. Saxon. ii. 301. The sense is 'Bæra's ford.'

Bedford.—Spelt *Bedeford*, D.B., H.R., T.N. The A.S. form is *Bedan-ford*, A.S. Chron. (Parker MS.), A.D. 918; but we also find the forms *Bedcan-ford*, in the same, A.D. 571; and *Biedcan-ford*, also under the latter date, in MSS. Cotton, Tib. A. vi. and Tib. B. i., and in the Laud MS.; see Thorpe's edition, p. 32. The dat. case *Bedan-forda* occurs in the Chronicle several times.

It is usual to cite the form *Bedican-ford*, which it is not easy to find. No such form is given in Plummer's edition of the A.S. Chronicle, nor by Earle. It occurs in Bosworth's Dict., with a reference to the year 571 in the Chronicle (Ingram's edition). But *Bedican-ford* does not occur there in the MSS. themselves; we find only the dat. *Bedan-forda* in one MS., and *Biedcan-forda* in three others, as said above.

Out of this dubious form, wholly misunderstood, and mispronounced with a long *i* instead of a short one, some ignorant person constructed an impossible etymology from the verb *be-dīcian*, to 'be-dike' or protect by a dike; so that we are gravely informed (as in Kelly's Directory) that Bedford means 'the protected ford.' Almost as absurd as this is the derivation quoted from Camden in Bosworth's A.S. Dictionary, viz. '*bedan, i.e. bedum*, lectis, *ford*, vadum; lectos et diversoria ad vadum sonans.' Here there are two obvious blunders, viz. the misspelling of the A.S. *beddum* as *bedum*; and next, the ridiculous statement that the word means *lectis vadum*, a ford with beds. It may confidently be said that fords were never thus provided, either in the river or beside it.

There is absolutely no mystery at all about it; *Bedan* is the regular genitive of *Beda*, so that the sense is 'Beda's ford.' Seeing that *Beda* (in the eighth century, *Bæda*) is the usual

Old English spelling of the famous author more commonly known as 'the venerable Bede,' the name ought to be more familiar to us than it usually seems to be. It does not follow that Bedford was named after that particular Beda, but rather after some one of the same name; for, according to the Chronicle, it was already in existence in 571, almost exactly a century before the 'venerable' Beda was born. Nevertheless, he has made the name honourable. It is tolerably clear that the fable about the 'be-diking' arose from misunderstanding the alternative form that is spelt *Bedca* in the best MS. and *Biedca* in others. To which I would add that there is a third form *Bedeca*, which appears in *Bedecan lēa*, 'Bedeca's lea,' in a charter dated 973–4; see Birch, Cart. Saxon. iii. 632, l. 17. But the explanation is simple enough; all that is meant is that *Bedeca* (otherwise *Bedca* or *Biedca*) is a diminutive form of Beda, or a pet-name; just as Johnny is another form of John. In other words, the person referred to is the same as before.

This may be illustrated by a difficulty that occurs in the Early English poem by Layamon entitled the Brut. No one has explained how it is that, in the one MS., Layamon is called the son of Leovenath, and in the other, the son of Leuca. Yet it is simple enough. Leovenath represents the A.S. Lēofnōth, of which the pet-name was Lēofa; and an alternative pet-name could be formed by using the diminutive Lēofeca. The form Leuca, in the MS. of a later date, is contracted from, and equivalent to, Lēofeca; just as Stukeley (Hunts.) represents A.S. *Styfecanlēah*. And no more need be said, unless it be necessary to remind the reader that the *f* between two vowels represented the sound of *v*.

Girtford, in Sandy.—I find no old spelling; but it probably means 'great ford.' *Gert* for *great* is as old as the fourteenth century; see the quotation dated 1387, in the Oxford New Eng. Dict., section 6 c. The modern Deptford, near Greenwich, is spelt Depeford in Chaucer, and means 'deep ford'; with a like sense.

Langford.—To the S. of Biggleswade. There is another

Langford across the Ouse, just below its junction with the Ivel; marked as *Ford* on the Ordnance Map, but Langford End is not far off. Spelt *Langeford*, D.B., F.A., T.N. The *e* marks the dative case; the A.S. form would be *æt thām langan forda, i.e.* 'at the long ford.'

Salford, on Crawley Brook.—The Ordnance Map marks Salford Ford. Spelt *Saleford*, D.B., E.T., H.R., T.N., R.C., F.A. There is another Salford in Oxon., and a third in Lancs. *Sale* represents the A.S. *salig*, otherwise *sealh*, a sally or willow-tree; not derived from the Lat. *salix*, but the native English name cognate with it. Thus the sense is 'willow-ford.'

Shefford.—Spelt *Sepford* (with reference to Shefford in Beds.), H.R. *Sepford* is a Norman spelling of Shepford. The sense is 'sheep ford.' Compare *Shipmeadow*, Suffolk, and the numerous Shiptons.

Stanford, to the S. of Southill.—To the E. of Stanford something is left of the old river, but the Ivel navigation canal has cut a straight course across its windings. In Pigot's map of 1831 the canal is absent. Spelt *Stanford*, D.B.; *Staunford*, F.A. For A.S. *Stān-ford, i.e.* 'stone ford.'

Tempsford.—Near the junction of the Ouse and Ivel; but Tempsford is on the Ivel, above the junction. Spelt *Tamiseford*, D.B.; *Temeseford*, E.T.; *Temesford, Temseford*, F.A. In the A.S. Chronicle, under the year 921, we find *Tæmese-forda*, in the dative case, and *Tæmesan-ford* under the year 1010 (in the Laud MS. only). The mouth of the river Thames is called in the same *Tæmesemuth*, under the year 892, in the Laud MS. Only one conclusion seems possible, viz. that the river Ivel was also, at a very early date, called *Tæmese*, or 'the Thames.' Perhaps that was the Celtic name, afterwards changed by the English to the *Gifel* or *Ivel*. Hence Tempsford is really 'Thamesford.' Of course Thames is a silly pseudo-learned spelling of Tames or Tems, with a Norman *th* in place of an A.S. *t*. We do not write 'Thamworth on the Thame,' or 'Thenbury on the Theme'!

15. Grave.

Grave represents the A.S. *græf* or *graf*, dat. *græfe*, a trench. It occurs in Chalgrave, Leagrave, and Potsgrove, formerly Potsgrave.

Chalgrave; to the S. of Toddington.—Spelt *Celgrave*, D.B.; *Chalgrave*, H.R.; *Chaugraue*, T.N.; *Chalgraue*, E.T.; I.p.m. The spelling *Cel-* in D.B. answers to an English spelling *Chel-* or *Chal-*.

There is a Charter dated 926 concerning land at Chalgrave and Tebworth; printed in Birch, Cart. Saxon. ii. 334. A note at p. 334 suggests that perhaps Chalgrove in Oxfordshire is meant, but that is quite out of the question; seeing that Chalgrave and Tebworth are not two miles apart. In this charter we find 'terram que nuncupatur *Cealhgræfan* et Teobbanwyrthe.' We have here the dat. case *græfan*, from a weak nominative *græfa* or *græfe*, with the same sense as the strong neuter *græf*, which has the dat. *græfe*. Such double forms are not uncommon. The actual form *Cealcgrafan* occurs in Birch, Cart. Saxon. ii. 304; with respect to a place in Hants.

Cealh can hardly be other than the A.S. *cealc*, chalk; with *h* for *c* before the *g*. Hence the probable sense is 'chalk-trench.'

Leagrave; to the N.W. of Luton. I find no old spelling; but it is on the river Lea. Hence the sense is 'trench beside the Lea.' The spelling Ligrave in Magna Britannia (1720) is explained under Luton (p. 52).

Potsgrove, or Pottesgrove.—The spelling with *grove* is modern; it is Potsgrave in Pigot's map (1831). Spelt *Potesgraua* (in the ablative case), D.B.; *Potesgrave*, E.T., H.R., F.A. Also *Portesgrave*, F.A., T.N. I think *Portes* is a mistake, because the *r* appears neither in the modern form nor in that in Domesday Book. *Potes* is the gen. of *Pot*; and that *Pot* was a real name seems to be sufficiently proved by the occurrence in two A.S. charters of the place-name *Potting-tun*, *i.e.* 'the town of the sons of Pot.' Hence the probable sense is 'Pot's trench.' Compare Potton (p. 54).

16. Hale.

The suffix *-hale* has long been obsolete as an independent word. It means 'a nook, corner, secret place,' hence 'a retreat'; and is fully explained in the New English Dictionary. It represents *heale, hale,* dative of A.S. *healh,* O. Mercian *halch.* The nominative itself appears in modern English as *haugh,* in some place-names; see *Haugh* in the same Dictionary. Owing to its not being understood, it is usually turned into *hall* in modern English, in order to find a meaning for it. It occurs in Meppershall, Pertenhall, and Renhold.

Meppershall.—Spelt *Malpertesselle,* D.B.; *Meiperteshale,* R.C.; *Meperteshale,* R.B., F.A., H.R., E.T., Cat.; *Mapertishale,* Cat.; *Meparteshale,* Ex.R.; *Maperteshale,* Tower Rolls; *Meperdeshale,* I.p.m. The spelling in D.B. seems to be mistaken, as all other authorities are against it. The suffix is clearly *hale,* a nook; as in some other counties. The *-es* is the genitive suffix. The name of the first inhabitant appears in the variant forms: Meipert, Mapert, Mepert; Malpert, Meperd may be neglected. We have no older record of the name, so that all that can be said is that the sense is 'Meipert's nook'; where Meipert is a name of Norman origin, as the suffix *-pert* suggests. It well represents the Old High German Megipert (older form Magipert); for which see E. Förstemann's Altdeutsches Namenbuch.

I may add that Mapert has no connection with the name of Mapperton in Dorsetshire. The latter presents no difficulty, as the A.S. form is *mapuldurtūn*; the sense being 'mapletree-town.'

Pertenhall; or, according to Kelly, 'formerly Partenhale.' —Spelt *Pertenhall, Partenhale,* D.B.; *Pertenhale,* H.R., F.A., E.T., I.p.m. It lies to the N. of Keysoe.

We have a record of the same name (though not of the same place) in a charter dated 972, containing a grant made by King Eadgar to Pershore Abbey, co. Worcester. In the boundaries mentioned we find the following:—'Of than hamme on Pyrt-broc; andlang broces to Pyrtan-heale; of Peartan-heal to hagan geate.' *I.e.* 'from the enclosure to Pyrt-brook; along

the brook to Pyrtan-healh (nom.); from Peartan-healh to haw-gate.' See Birch, Cart. Saxon. iii. 587. The true form of the dat. case is *Peartan-healе*; the sense is 'Pearta's nook.' We need not be concerned with the form *Pyrta*, because *y* is a secondary vowel, *ea* (Mercian *a*) being more original. Moreover, the form of the name is completely established by the occurrence in Kemble's Index of a place-name, Peartingawyrth, *i.e.* 'the property (or homestead) of the sons of Pearta.'

Renhold; to the N.E. of Bedford.—In this instance *hale* was turned into *hall*, and afterwards into *hold*; and further, *Ren-* has been substituted for *Ron-*. Spelt *Ronhale*, F.A.; E.T.; *Ronhal*, T.N.; *Ronale*, H.R.; *Ronhall*, I.p.m. (1286). In a charter of Cnut, A.D. 1018, one of the witnesses is named Ranig; see Kemble, Cod. Dipl. iv. 3. This furnishes a possible clue. An allied weak form Raniga (not found) would give a genitive Ranigan; and we might then explain the place-name as meaning 'Raniga's nook.' As the *g* in this form was pronounced as a *y*, and easily dropped, whilst at the same time *an* was often sounded as *on*, we find that Florence of Worcester turns the name *Ranig* into *Roni* (A.S. Chron., ed. Plummer, ii. 219); and such a form as *Ronian-healе* would easily pass into *Ronhale*. And on the other hand, *Ranhale* might be turned into *Renhale*. This is the best guess which I am able to make. It would be difficult to form the place-name from Ranig or Roni directly, because the genitive case would then be Raniges or Ronies, and there is no trace of an *s*. I may add that Ranig is also found as Hranig, which is a more original form.

17. Ham.

This suffix is extremely common. In fact, there are *two* words that produce it. Of these the more usual is the A.S. *hām*, a home, which becomes *ham* (with short *a*) in an unaccented (final) syllable; and the other is the A.S. *hamm*, an enclosure. The former is usually employed in 'possessive' names; the latter in 'descriptive' ones. They are here taken together, as they cannot always be distinguished. However, Clapham, Higham, and Studham seem to be the only examples of the

latter class. Examples occur in Biddenham, Blunham, Bromham (or Brumham), Clapham, Felmersham, Higham, Pavenham, and Studham.

BIDDENHAM.—Spelt *Bidenham*, D.B., E.T.; *Bideham*, H.R.; *Bydenham*, Ex. Rolls; *Bedenham*, I.p.m.; *Bedynham*, F.A. In a charter relating to Chieveley, Berks., dated 951, we find a mention of 'Byden-hǣma gemæres,' *i.e.* the boundary of the men of Byden-hām. The sense of *hǣma*, a genitive plural form, is explained in the Crawford Charters, ed. Napier and Stevenson, p. 116. The *æ* was long, and derived from long *a*; so that the reference is to *hām*, a home. Byden should rather be *Bȳdan*, gen. of *Bȳda* (with long *y*), a known name. Thus the sense of Biddenham is 'Bȳda's home.' The vowel in the first syllable has been shortened. It may be added that the original vowel of the name, viz. long *y*, accounts for the spelling *Bedenham*, as long *y* was sometimes expressed by long *e* in later English.

BLUNHAM.—Spelt *Bluneham*, D.B., Cl.R., H.R., vol. ii.; *Blounham*, F.A. Thus the *u* was long, *ou* denoting *ū*; and *-e* is for *-an*, from nom. *-a*. The sense is 'Blūna's home.' Of the name Blūna there is no other record.

BROMHAM, or BRUMHAM (Kelly).—Spelt *Bruneham*, D.B.; and (wrongly) *Brimeham*, D.B. In the latter case *un* was misread as *im*. Also *Brumham*, R.C. The sense is 'Brūna's home.' Brūna is a known name, and is a weak form allied to the strong form *Brūn*, which is the modern English Brown. *Brūnham* became *Brunham*, with short *u*; and afterwards *Brumham*, by confusion with names like Bromley and Brompton.

CLAPHAM; near Bedford.—Spelt *Clopeham*, D.B.; *Clopham*, H.R., F.A., T.N.; *Cloppham*, R.C. In a genuine charter of the time of Ælfred, Clapham in Surrey appears as Cloppa-ham; see Sweet, Early English Texts, p. 451. *Cloppa* must be a genitive plural of a form *clop*, which occurs in *clop-æcer* (clop-acre), and *clop-hyrst* (clop-hurst) in Birch, Cart. Saxon. iii. 589, 590. The name is probably descriptive, and *ham* may mean 'enclosure.' The meaning of *clop* is not certainly known; but

Kalkar's Middle Danish Dictionary has *klop* in the sense of 'stub' or 'stump,' which would suit all three forms. The modern E. *clump* may be related. If we explain *cloppa* from this source, it will be best to give to *ham* the sense of 'enclosure.' It would then mean 'enclosure of stubby ground,' lit. 'of stubs.'

Felmersham.—Spelt *Falmeresham*, *Flammeresham*, D.B.; *Felmeresham*, T.N.; *Felmersham*, I.p.m.; *Fulmeresham*, E.T. In a charter dated 963, we find a notice of *Fiolo-meres ford*; and in another, dated 709, we find *Feala-mæres broc* (brook); see Birch, Cart. Saxon. i. 182, iii. 344. The correct spelling is *Feolu-mær* (with long *æ*), a man's name. The sense is 'Feolumær's home.'

Higham; also called Higham Gobion.—Spelt *Echam*, D.B.; *Hecham*, *Hegham*, *Heyham*, F.A.; *Higham*, E.C.; *Heyham Gobioun*, I.p.m. (A.D. 1301); *Heyham*, E.T. Here *hec*, *ec*, *heg*, *hey*, are all variant spellings of the A.S. *hēah*, Mid. Eng. *hēh*, mod. Eng. *high*. The sense is 'high enclosure.' The Ordnance Map marks an elevation of 247 feet above the sea. Gobion or Gubiun was the name of a family who had land there. 'Ricardus Gubyun tenet in villa de Hecham,' etc.; F.A. i. 7 (1284–6). Named Ricardus Gobion in 1289; A.M.

Pavenham.—Spelt *Pabeneham*, D.B.; *Pabenham*, F.A., T.N., I.p.m.; *Pabeham*, R.B., T.N. For A.S. *Paban hām*, 'Paba's home.' The name of Paba is not otherwise known; but it is closely related to the *Peb-* in Pebworth, Gloucestershire, and in Pebmarsh, Essex.

Studham; on the borders of Herts., due S. of Dunstable.—Already explained in my Place-names of Herts. Spelt *Estodham*, D.B.; *Stodham*, E.T., H.R. A.S. *Stōdham*; Thorpe, Diplomatarium, p. 374. The *o* was long, giving later *oo*, which has been shortened before *d*, like the *oo* in *blood*. And the *a* was short, *ham* here meaning 'enclosure.' The A.S. *stōd* is now spelt *stud*. The sense is 'stud-enclosure,' or an enclosure for a stud of horses. So also A.S. *stōdfald* meant 'a stud-fold,' a paddock for a stud of horses. Compare Stodden (p. 11).

18. Hanger.

A *hanger* is a well known dialect word, especially in Dorsets., Hants., Sussex, and Kent. It means a hanging wood on the side or slope of a hill; from the verb *to hang*. The A.S. form is *hangra*. It occurs in Moggerhanger and Polehanger.

Moggerhanger, or Morhanger (Kelly); near Blunham.—Here Morhanger is a mere contraction. Spelt *Mogerhanger*, F.A.; I.p.m.; *Mogarhangre*, Cl. Rolls. In Magna Britannia, it is spelt *Maugerhanger*. The name is probably later than the Conquest; and the former part of the name may be Norman, viz. from the family name of *Mauger* or *Maugar*; see examples in F.A. Bardsley, in his English Surnames, notes that *Mauger* occurs in the Hundred Rolls, with an earlier spelling *Malger*. It is distinct from A.S. *Moga*, in Birch, Cart. Saxon. ii. 18.

Polehanger.—Polehanger Farm lies to the S. of Shefford. The prefix is probably the same as in Polstead, in Suffolk; of which the A.S. form occurs as *Polstyde*, in Birch, Cart. Saxon. iii. 602. From the A.S. *pōl*, a pool; dat. *pōle*. The A.S. *pōl* was pronounced like the modern E. *pole*, a pronunciation which lasted for many centuries. The word *pool* is now ascertained to be Germanic, and the Welsh *pwll* to be merely borrowed from it.

19. Hatch.

Hatch occurs alone; viz. in Hatch, in Northill (Kelly). Spelt *Hatche*, I.p.m.; *Hache*, *Hacche*, F.A. From A.S. *hæcce*, dat. of *hæc*, fem., a hatch, half-door; in E. dialects, any small gate or wicket.

20. Head.

Head occurs in Manshead, the name of a hundred. Spelt *Manesheve* in D.B., an error for *Manesheved*, or rather *Mannesheved*, as in H.R. The sense is certainly 'man's head,' whatever circumstance may have given rise to it. In my Place-names of Hunts., I have shown that Farcet means 'bull's head'; and we have two Swinesheads, one being in Lincs.

SWINESHEAD.—Formerly in Hunts. Spelt *Swineshefet*, D.B.; *Swinesheved*, R.C.; from the A.S. *swīnes hēafod*, lit. 'swine's head.' Perhaps a fanciful name of some natural object.

21. HEATH.

HEATH occurs alone; it lies to the N. of Leighton Buzzard. No explanation is needed.

22. HILL.

Hill occurs in Ampthill, Clophill, Odell, Puddlehill, Pulloxhill, Wroxhill. For Northill and Southill see below, under the heading ILL (p. 33).

AMPTHILL.—Spelt *Ametelle*, D.B.; *Amethulle*, E.T.; *Ametulle*, F.A.; *Amethull*, I.p.m.; *Amithulle*, A.M.; *Amthull*, H.R.; *Aunthull*, I.p.m. (A.D. 1264). The A.S. *hyll*, both masc. and fem., meaning a hill, is frequently *hulle* in Middle English, and occasionally *helle*; so that the above spellings are regular. The prefix is the A.S. *æmete*, an emmet or ant; so that the sense is 'ant-hill'; apparently a somewhat jocular appellation. As for the spelling *ampt*, it occurs in the earlier version of Wyclif's Bible, Prov. xxx. 25; the later version has *amt*.

CLOPHILL.—Spelt *Clopelle*, D.B.; *Clophulle*, F.A., E.T.; *Clophull*, T.N., I.p.m. The corresponding A.S. form is *clophyll*; see the note upon *clop* under CLAPHAM; at p. 25. The sense is uncertain; perhaps it means 'stubby-hill.'

ODELL.—Spelt *Wadehelle*, *Wadelle*, D.B.; *Wadhulle*, *Wodhulle*, H.R., vol. ii.; *Wodhull*, I.p.m.; *Wahulle*, F.A., R.B. Kelly remarks that Odell Castle is on an eminence; also that Odell is corrupted from Woodhill. The latter statement is doubly impossible; for firstly, place-names are not 'corrupted,' but gradually altered in accordance with phonetic laws; and secondly, no one ever called a wood an *ode*. Those who do not sound the *w* call it *'ood*.

The spellings *Wad-*, *Wod-*, show that the first element is the A.S. *wād*, meaning 'woad'; and the sense is 'woad-hill.' The Normans, who disliked the sound of *w* before *o* and *u*, and

sadly neglected the initial *h*, originated a form which regularly became *'oad'ill*, from which Odell is hardly distinguishable. There is no difficulty.

PUDDLEHILL, or CHALK HILL; "in Houghton Regis; on the rise of a hill, surrounded by chalk hills"; Kelly. The prefix is the ordinary E. *puddle*.

PULLOXHILL.—Spelt *Polochessele*, D.B.; *Pullokeshulle*, F.A., E.T.; *Pullokeshull*, T.N.; *Pullukeshulle*, *Pollokeshille*, A.M. The modern spelling is ingenious, as it suggests the idea of a hill where an ox has to pull; but the old spellings show that *Pullokes* is the genitive of *Pullok*, a man's name.

The spelling in D.B. can be explained. The former *o* is due to the fact that Norman scribes usually wrote *o* to denote the sound of *u* in *full* or in *pull*. They also used *ches* to denote the sound of *kes*. And lastly, the scribe has substituted *ele* for *elle* or *helle*, the Norman form of Mid. E. *hulle*, a hill; and he has needlessly doubled the *s*. *Pullok* is not otherwise known; but it is of a like character with the A.S. personal name *Puttoc*; and also with the modern E. *Pollock*. It is probably a diminutive, like Bullock.

WROXHILL; in the parish of Marston Morteyne (Kelly).—Spelt *Wroxhulle*, F.A., A.M. In F.A. we find the name of John de *Wrockeshale*, answering to *Wroccesheal* in Kemble's Index. *Wrocces* is the gen. of the personal name *Wroc*; and the sense is 'Wroc's hill.'

The form *Wroccesheal*, *i.e.* 'Wroc's nook,' explains Wroxall in Warw. and in the Isle of Wight. There is a Wroxham in Norfolk, and a Wroxton in Oxfordshire; all from Wroc.

23. HOE.

The suffix *hoe* or *ho* is rather common. It represents the A.S. *hōh*, a spur of a hill, lit. 'heel'; and is not to be confused with the Northern *how*, which is of Scandinavian origin, from Icel. *haugr*, a height.

It occurs in Bletsoe, Cainhoe, Keysoe, Millow, Putnoe, Salpho, Segenhoe, Sharpenhoe, Silsoe, Staploe, and Totternhoe. Also, in Budna (p. 30).

Bletsoe, to the N. of Milton Ernest.—Spelt *Blacheshou, Blecheshou*, D.B.; *Blechesho*, T.N., E.T., F.A.; *Bletesho*, I.p.m., vol. ii. Also *Bletnesho*, F.A. (A.D. 1316), Cat., I.p.m. In D.B. *ch* before *e* means *k*, so that, in the eleventh century, the form was *Blakesho* or *Blekesho*. The equivalent A.S. spelling is probably *Blæces-hōh*, where Blæces is the gen. of Blæc. But whether the *æ* was long or short, it is hard to say; the forms corresponding to the modern E. *black* and *bleak* involve much difficulty, as is pointed out very clearly in the New English Dictionary. Still the *e* in Bletsoe favours the derivation from *blǣc*, 'bleak' or 'pale.' In later times the name became *Blekso*, and then *Bletso* or *Bletsoe*, by the substitution of *t* for *k*. The occasional form *Bletnesho* I do not understand. The original sense appears to have been 'Blǣc's hill-spur'; where Blǣc is a name originally meaning 'pale one.'

Budna, in Northill.—Short for *Budenho*; spelt *Bodenho*, F.A. For A.S. *Budan-hōh, i.e.* 'Buda's hill-spur' or slope. Magna Britannia has *Budnahoe*, which really means *Budenho-ho*, and repeats the suffix. Buda is a known name.

Cainhoe.—The manor of Cainhoe was near Clophill, in the hundred of Flitt; D.B. It appears to be the modern Cain Hill, in Wrest Park; there is a Cainhoe Farm just outside the park, on the north. Spelt *Cainou, Chainehou*, D.B.; *Caynho*, F.A., H.R., I.p.m. This, in A.S. spelling, might be represented by *Cǣganhōh, i.e.*, 'Cǣga's hill-spur.' Cǣga is not otherwise known, but would be the weak form corresponding to the strong form *Cǣg*, which is preserved in Keysoe (below).

Keysoe.—Spelt *Caissot, Chaisot*, D.B., with a needless final *t*. Better *Kaysho*, T.N., I.p.m.; *Caysho*, E.T., F.A. Found in A.S. in the form *Caegesho*, in a charter dated 793, but not an original one. It there refers to Cassiobury or Cashiobury in Herts., but this makes no real difference; for Cashiobury is merely another form of Keysoe-bury. A better spelling would be *Cǣges-hōh*. *Cǣg* is the A.S. form of the modern E. *key*. The sense is 'Key's hill-spur'; taking Key as being a personal name.

Millow.—Millow and Millowbury Farm lie to the S. of

Dunton. Spelt *Melehou*, D.B.; *Melho*, C.R.; *Mulnho*, F.A. Also spelt Milnho in modern times, as in Airy's Bedfordshire Domesday. All from A.S. *mylen-hōh*, meaning 'mill-hillspur,' or hill-slope with a mill on it.

Putnoe.—Near Goldington. Putnoe Farm and Putnoe Wood lie between Bedford and Ravensden. Spelt *Putenehou*, D.B.; *Putenho*, T.N.; *Poutenhou*, *Puttenho*, F.A. Also *Puttanho* in a late A.S. will; in Thorpe, Diplomatarium, p. 589. All from A.S. *Puttan hōh*; the sense being 'Putta's hill-spur.' Putta is a known name.

Salpho.—Airy (p. 49) notes that "at the S.W. extremity of the parish of Ravensden is a hamlet called Salpho, forming part of the manor of Salphobury"; also that "the name of the manor, spelt in books and documents Salpho, has become curiously corrupted in the mouths of the country-people, who call the hamlet Saft End." In the Ordnance map it is Salph End. Spelt *Salchou*, D.B.; *Saleho*, *Salvho*, F.A. For A.S. *sealh-hōh*, Old Mercian *salh-hōh*; where A.S. *sealh* is the native E. word cognate with Lat. *salix*, with the same sense of 'willow.' The form in Chaucer is *salwe*, and in the sixteenth century we find *salowe*. *Salow-ho* became *Salvo*, *Salfo*, and was then spelt *Salpho*, with *ph* for *f*. *Safe* is from *Salf*, by dropping *l*; and *Saft* from *Safe*, by adding *t*. The sense is 'hill-spur near willows.' The Eng. Dialect Dict. notices the north-country forms *saugh*, *saf*, *saff*, *sauf*, *sauve*; all meaning sallow or willow.

Segenhoe, near Ridgmount.—Segenhoe Manor is marked on the Ordnance map. Spelt *Segenehou*, D.B.; *Segenho*, F.A., A.M.; *Seggeho*, A.M.; *Sedgynho*, Cat. For A.S. *Secgan-hōh*, *i.e.* 'Secga's hill-spur.' The A.S. *secga* meant a speaker, one who says a thing, an informant, from *secgan*, to say. The Mid. Eng. *segge* was freely used in the simple sense of man, or person. But the A.S. Secga was also used as a personal name, as in the present case.

Sharpenhoe; due E. of Harlington.—The *hoe* or hill-slope attains the height of 524 feet above the sea. Spelt *Scharpenhoo*, F.A.; *Sharpenho*, Cat. For A.S. *Scearpan hōh*, *i.e.* 'Scearpa's

hill-spur.' Kemble's Index has *Scearpan-næs* and *Scearpen-hām*, both of which contain the same name. *Scearpa* is the weak form of *scearp*, adj., *i.e.* sharp; and Sharpe is still in use as a proper name. We may therefore equally well explain it as 'Sharpe's hill-spur.'

Silsoe; near Wrest Park.—Spelt *Sewilessou*, D.B.; also (apparently) *Suuulessou*, D.B.; *Sivelesho*, R.C.; *Siuelesho*, I.p.m.; *Sivelesho*, *Sevelesho*, *Sowenesho*, F.A.; *Shivelesho*, T.N. The form *Suuulessou* (in D.B.) is indistinct. Perhaps it should be *Siuuilessou*, and it is printed by Airy as *Siwilessou*. The forms, as is so frequently the case, have been much contracted; and, if we may trust to those in D.B., it is most likely that *Sewil* or *Siwil* (the latter giving the true vowel) is short for *Sīwulf*, itself a later form of the A.S. *Sigewulf*, a very common name of which we have more than twenty instances. I would explain Silsoe as shortened from 'Sigewulf's hoe.'

Stagloe, to the W. of St Neots.—Spelt *Stapleho* in Magna Britannia; *Stapelho*, R.C. The A.S. *stapol* means a post or pillar, such as must once have stood upon a neighbouring slope. The sense is 'pillar-hillspur.'

Totternho, or Toternhoe.—Spelt *Totenehou*, D.B.; *Totternho*, H.R., F.A.; *Toterho*, E.T. The *r* seems to have been needlessly introduced in the unaccented syllable. The D.B. form may be more correct, as it answers to the A.S. *Totan* in *Totancumb*, in Birch, Cart. Saxon. ii. 557; compare *Toten-berg* (a late spelling) in the same, iii. 159. *Totan* is the gen. of Tota, a known name, so that it may mean 'Tota's hoe,' or 'Tota's hill-spur.' It is probable that *tōta* meant a spy, or look-out man; and that Toternhoe, like Tothill, was a look-out hill. The *hoe* rises to more than 500 feet above the sea-level. Perhaps *Totene* = A.S. *tōtena*, gen. pl., 'of the spies.'

24. Holt.

Holt is an interesting word, which is now little used except in place-names, though it occurs in Tennyson and Bulwer Lytton; see the New Eng. Dictionary. It represents the A.S. *holt*, a small wood, a copse, a small plantation. It occurs in Eversholt.

EVERSHOLT; near Woburn Park.—Spelt *Eureshot*, D.B.; *Eversolt*, H.R.; *Everesholt*, T.N., E.T., I.p.m. The last form is the best spelt. For A.S. *Eofores holt, i.e.* 'Eofor's holt.' As already explained at p. 2, Eofor was a personal name, with the literal sense of 'boar.'

25. HURST.

Hurst represents the A.S. *hyrst*, a thicket or copse, a place overgrown with brushwood. It occurs in Bolnhurst and Gravenhurst.

BOLNHURST.—Spelt *Bolehestre, Bulehestre*, D.B.; *Bolehurst*, T.N., F.A., E.T.; *Bolnehurst, Bollehurste*, Cat.; *Bolnherst*, F.A. *Boln* represents the A.S. *Bulan*, gen. of *Bula*, or *Bolan*, gen. of *Bola*. *Bula, Bola* are probably variant forms; and perhaps related to Icel. *boli*, a bull. The E. *bull* itself seems to be of Norse origin. The sense is 'Bula's hurst' or 'Bola's hurst'; possibly equivalent to a modern E. 'Bull's hurst,' taking Bull as a personal name.

GRAVENHURST.—Misspelt *Crauenhest*, D.B.; but *Gravenhurst*, R.B., R.C.; *Gravenhirst*, R.C.; *Gravenhurste*, I.p.m. Here *Graven* resembles A.S. *græfan*, known from its occurrence in the Laud MS. of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, under the date 852. But this word should rather be *grǣfan* (with long *ǣ*), giving a later form *Greven*; see Crawford Charters, ed. Napier, pp. 61, 62. We may rather compare it with Graveney in Kent, spelt *Grafon-aea* in 811 (Sweet, O. E. Texts, p. 456), lit. 'Grafon-stream.' *Grafon* suggests 'gravel,' which is of Celtic origin. Cf. Bret. *grouan*, gravel; O. French *grave*, gravel.

26. ILL.

This suffix occurs only in Northill and Southill, which, as the old forms prove, should rather be North Ill and South Ill; for they have no connexion with the word *hill*. *Ill* must have been the old name for the stream which, after leaving Southill Park, flows past Ickwell and Northill to join the Ivel at Girtford. And as the old spellings show, Ill is merely another form of Ivel itself. The Ill joins the Ivel before the combined

stream joins the Ouse. It is even more remarkable that there was yet another stream in Bedfordshire once named the Ivel, which gave its name to Yielden or Yelden; which can only mean Ivelden; see p. 12. And there is yet another Ivel in Somersets. which flows by Ilchester, formerly called Ivelchester; and another Ill or Ile, absurdly spelt Isle, which flows by Ilminster. The Isle and the Ivel likewise become one stream, near Langport.

Northill.—Spelt *Nortgiue* (error for *Northgiuel*), *Nortgible*, *Nortgiuele*, D.B.; *Northgiuele*, E.T.; *Northyevele*, F.A.; *Northgivell* (1236), I.p.m.; *Northgeuell* (1257), I.p.m.; *Nortgylle*, T.N. Observe that Ilchester is spelt *Yeuelchestre*, A.M.

None of these spellings will be understood unless it is remembered that the Norman scribes often used *g* to represent the A.S. *g*, which was pronounced like E. *y* before an *e* or an *i*. Thus the above spellings really represent *yivel*, *yevel*, and *yill*. Another point is that Middle English dropped the sound of initial *y* altogether before an *i*. Thus the A.S. *giccian*, Mid. E. *yicchen*, is the modern English *itch*; the A.S. *Gipeswic* is the modern *Ipswich*; and the A.S. *gif*, Mid. Eng. *yif*, is now spelt *if*. Similarly, the Early Eng. *Yivel* became the modern *Ivel*; and the Early Eng. *Yill* became the *Ill*. There can be no doubt as to the result. As Prof. Earle points out, the A.S. *Gifle* in Ælfred's Will does not mean Gidley (as Kemble guessed), but the Ivel Valley in Somersetshire. The Will only exists in a late copy, but the spelling of that name is correct. *Gifle* is a dative case, from a nom. *Gifel*, in which the *g* was a *y*, the *f* was a *v*, and the *i* was short. The sense is 'northern place upon the Ivel.'

Southill.—Spelt *Sudgiuele*, *Sudgible*, D.B.; *Southyevele*, F.A.; *South Giuele*, E.T.; *Sutgyle*, T.N. The spellings have been explained above. It means 'southern place upon the Ivel.'

27. Ing.

Ing is well known as 'a tribal suffix,' the meaning of which will be explained presently (p. 35). It occurs in Knotting and

Marston Pillinge. Also in Harling-ton, Shilling-ton, formerly Harling-don, Shilling-don, explained under -DON; in Stepping-ley, explained under -LEY; in Billing-ton, Carding-ton, Golding-ton, Lidling-ton, Pudding-ton, Todding-ton, explained under -INGTON; and in Wrestling-worth, explained under -WORTH. But it also sometimes appears erroneously in modern forms, as in Caddin(g)ton (p. 13); Chellin(g)ton, Eggin(g)ton, Stevin(g)ton, Willin(g)ton, Wymin(g)ton (pp. 59, 60).

KNOTTING.—The A.S. *-ing* was a patronymic, meaning 'son of.' There is a remarkable example in the old Northumbrian version of the third chapter of St Luke, where 'the son of Heli' is rendered by Heling; and the like. Seth is called Adaming, *i.e.*, 'son of Adam.' These names in *-ing* were declined as strong substantives, with the nom. plural *-ingas* and the gen. pl. *-inga*. Thus the son of Golda would be called Golding, and the family or tribe descended from Golda would be called the Goldingas, *i.e.* the Goldings. There is a large number of names of this description.

Knotting lies to the N. of Sharnbrook. The spellings are: *Chenotinga*, D.B.; *Cnottinge*, T.N.; *Cnottynge*, F.A.; *Cnottyng*, E.T. The *Che* in D.B. means no more than *K* (or *C*) in this instance. It signifies that the Norman had much ado to pronounce *K* before an *n*, and inserted a short vowel-sound to assist him in the process. In the modern E. *knot* the *k* is simply neglected; but it was sounded at least as late as 1400.

But the final *-a* in the D.B. form is correct. It represents *Cnotinga*, gen. pl. of *Cnotingas*, *i.e.* the Cnotings or 'sons of Cnot.' The gen. pl. refers to their possession of the holding; it was a place 'belonging to the sons of Cnot.'

The name of Cnot appears again in the place-name Cnottinga-hamm or Cnotinga-hamm; Birch, Cart. Saxon. iii. 56. This corresponds to a Knottingham near Barkham, in Berks.; which no longer exists. There is a Knotting-ley in Yorkshire.

MARSTON PILLINGE; near Millbrook station; not far from Marston Morteyne.—It means the Marston where once the Pillings resided; just as the other Marston was named from the Morteynes. Pilling is still a somewhat common name, and

may be found in the Clergy List. It means 'a son of Pil,' or Pill. There is a Pils-ley in Derbyshire, and there are three Piltons.

Some of the Pillings occupied Wootton Pillinge, about a mile to the N.E. of Marston Pillinge.

The name Marston is explained under -ton (p. 54); it is merely 'marsh-town.'

Weston Ing.—This is the most convenient place for discussing the apparent suffix in Westoning, more correctly written Weston Ing. It lies to the N. of Harlington, and is written as Westoning in Bacon's map and in the Ordnance map. But it appears as *Weston* in E.T. and H.R.; and as *Weston Ing* in the Catalogue of Ancient Deeds. It means 'west town,' once occupied by a tenant named William Ing. In Feudal Aids, i. 21 (1316), it is called Weston Tregoz (probably from a former tenant), but it is noted that there was a 'villa' there, tenanted by Willelmus Inge. In the same, i. 7 (1284), we are told that Willelmus la Souche and Willelmus Inge were tenants in Totternhoe.

It may be added that the provincial E. *ing*, a meadow, is not of English origin, but Norse. There is no example of its use in Beds., unless William Ing took his name from it.

28. Lake.

Fenlake; in Eastcotts.—Not far from Bedford. Spelt *Fenlake*, Cl. R., vol. ii. *Lake* has not its usual meaning here, nor is it connected with Lat. *lacus*. It is a native English word meaning a small stream of running water. The stream is marked on the Ordnance map, and flows into the Ouse. See *Lake*, sb. (3) in the New Eng. Dict., and *Lake* (2), a stream, in the Eng. Dial. Dict. The prefix is the A.S. *fenn*, a fen; and the sense is 'fen-stream.'

29. Ley.

Ley is the usual spelling in place-names of the word which we usually spell *lea*; from A.S. *lēah*, 'a tract of open ground, either meadow, pasture, or arable land'; New E. Dict. The

form *ley* is really due to the very frequent use of the dative case, A.S. *lēage*, *lēge*, in which *g* had the sound of *y*.

It occurs in Aspley, Crawley, Gladly, Hatley, Oakley, Prestley, Riseley, Steppingley, Stopsley, Streatley, Thurleigh. But not in Willey, though it will be convenient to consider this with the rest.

Aspley Guise.—Spelt *Aspeleia* (ablative), D.B.; *Aspele*, R.C., F.A., E.T.; *Aspeley*, I.p.m. A.S. *Æsplēa*, in the Aspley Charter dated 969, in Birch, Cart. Saxon. iii. 517. The A.S. *æsp* (also *æps*) means an aspen tree. The sense is 'aspen-lea.'

Guise is a family name. In Feudal Aids, i. 1, we read: 'Anselmus de Gyse tenet Aspele.'

Crawley; as in Husborne Crawley.—Husborne has been explained under Bourne (p. 5). Spelt *Crawelai*, D.B.; *Craweleye*, *Craulai*, R.C.; *Crauley*, I.p.m. A.S. *Crāwanlēa*, with reference to Crawley in Hants. From A.S. *crāwan*, gen. of *crāwe*, fem. a crow, also a known female name. The sense is 'Crow's lea'; and the genitive case suggests that the Crow was a woman.

Hatley, or Cockayne Hatley; due E. of Potton.—Spelt *Hatelai*, D.B.; *Hattelega*, R.B.; *Hattele*, E.T., F.A. We find 'æt Hættanlēa and æt Pottune,' in the will of Ælfhelm of Wratting, Cambs.; Birch, Cart. Saxon. iii. 630. Hættan is the gen. of Hætta, and the sense is 'Hætta's lea.'

Cockayne is a family name. The church contains four sixteenth-century brasses to the Bryan and Cockayne families. 'Joh. Cockayn tenet di.f.m. in Hattele'; F.A. i. 37 (1428).

Nares Gladly.—The name of an old manor. Airy says of *Gledelai* in D.B.:—"This manor, situate in the modern parish of Heath-and-Reach, taken from that of Leighton Buzzard, may still be recognised in the names of Nares Gladly; and though only marked by a small farmhouse, remains a manor of itself, distinct from that of Leighton. The modern prefix is probably the name of some former proprietor."

Spelt *Gledelai*, D.B.; *Gledele*, A.M. As *gled* is an earlier variant of Mid. Eng. *glad*, A.S. *glæd* (Mod. E. *glad*), the modern name is a fair guide. The A.S. *glæd* meant bright or cheerful

as well as glad. The sense may very well have been 'bright lea.' In the Flower and the Leaf, a poem written by a lady in the fifteenth century, we find it used as an epithet of leaves: 'a *glad* light grene.' Compare the name Fairleigh.

Oakley.—There are six or seven places so called. The sense is 'oak-lea,' which is quite consistent with the old spellings. Spelt *Achelei, Achelaiæ*, D.B.; *Acelea, Acleia, Acle, Occle*, R.C.; *Ocleie*, A.M.; *Acle, Ocle, Okele*, F.A.; *Ocle*, T.N.; *Acle*, R.B. A.S. *Aclēa, Aclēah*; with long *a*, from *āc*, oak; see Kemble's Index.

Prestley; a manor in Flitwick.—The Ordnance map has Priestley Farm, to the N.W. of Westoning. Spelt *Prestelai*, D.B.; *Prestele*, F.A.; *feodum de Presteleia*, R.B. It corresponds to A.S. *Prēostalēage*, dative, lit. 'lea of the priests' or 'priests' lea'; Birch, Cart. Saxon. iii. 201. The gen. pl. *prēosta* accounts for the final *e* in *Preste*, in the old spellings.

Riseley; to the South of Melchbourne.—Spelt *Riselai*, D.B.; *Risele*, R.B.; *Rysele*, E.T.; *Riseleg, Risleg*, T.N.; *Rysle*, F.A. I take the name to be descriptive, meaning 'brushwood lea'; from A.S. *hrīs*, a twig, branch, prov. E. *rise*, brushwood, undergrowth.

Steppingley; to the N.W. of Flitwick Wood.—Formerly *Stepingley*, as in Pigot's Atlas (1831). Spelt *Stepigelai* (for *Stepingelai*), D.B.; *Stepyngle*, F.A.; *Stepingele, Steppinggele*, A.M. These represent A.S. *Stēapinga lēah, i.e.* 'lea of the Steapings or Steepings'; where *Stēapinga* is the gen. pl. of *Stēaping*, a son of *Stēapa*. Stēapa is a known name, allied to A.S. *stēap*, steep, high, lofty. *Stēapan-lēah, i.e.* 'Steapa's lea,' also occurs; see Kemble's Index.

Stopsley; N. of Luton.—Spelt *Stopesle*, F.A., lit. 'Stopp's lea.' The name *Stopp* occurs in *Stoppingas, i.e.* 'sons of Stopp'; in Kemble's Index.

Streatley; to the E.N.E. of Sundon.—Spelt *Stradlei*, D.B.; *Stratle*, F.A.; *Strateleye*, E.T. A.S. *Strætlēa*; Thorpe, Diplomatarium, p. 589, with reference to this very place. The sense is 'Street-lea'; with reference to a very old high-road. Streatley

lies close to the high-road from Luton to Bedford, and the four miles of it from Luton to Streatley are so nearly straight that it may well have been on the line of an old Roman road. The Icenhild Way is not far off.

THURLEIGH; to the E. of Bletsoe.—Here *leigh* answers to the A.S. nom. *lēah*, a lea, just as *ley* does to the dat. *lēage*. I find a mention of Willelmus de *Thorlege*; Cl. R. As there is here no sign of the gen. case, the former element is the A.S. *Thūr*, Thor, familiar to us in the gen. case in the word Thurs-day. The sense is 'Thur-lea,' a true compound. This probably means that the lea was once dedicated, in heathen times, to the worship of Thūr or Thōr, the god of thunder. Thūr is the A.S. name, and Thōr the Norse name of this once renowned divinity.

WILLEY, the name of a hundred.—As this has the appearance of a compound ending in *-ley*, it will be considered here. But it is really a simple word, once spelt with but one *l*. The doubling of the *l* means that the *i* was short, as in *will*. Spelt *Wilge*, or (in Latinised spelling) *Wilga*, D.B.; *Wylye*, H.R., F.A.; *Wile*, R.B. The hundred was no doubt named from a lost hamlet. The forms answer to the A.S. *welige*, dat. of *welig*, a willow; and the place-name originally meant 'at the willow.' The *i* appears in the Mid. Eng. *wilwe*, and in the modern *willow*; also in the A.S. adj. *wiliht*, abounding in willows. So also Willian (Herts.) means 'the willows,' nom. pl.; and Welwyn (Herts.) means 'at the willows,' dat. pl.

30. Low.

As in Henlow.

The A.S. *hlāw*, mod. E. *low*, means a burial-mound. Some contend that some at least of the *lows* are older than Anglo-Saxon times. That may well be the case, so that the prefix may have been used in two senses. If I am right, we may explain Triplow in Cambs. as 'Trippa's low'; but it is obviously impossible to know in which sense it was Trippa's. He may have been buried there, or he may have occupied land in the

immediate neighbourhood of a low that had been there for some hundreds of years.

Henlow.—Henlow railway-station is between Hitchin and Shefford. Spelt *Haneslau*, *Haneslauue*, D.B.; *Hanelawe*, *Henelaue*, T.R.; *Henlawe*, E.T., T.N., I.p.m.; *Henlow*, F.A. The forms in D.B. (which do not really differ) are here the only important ones; they preserve an *s* which is dropped even in *Hanelawe*, which is the next oldest form. The sense must have been 'Hann's low.' The name Hann is preserved in Hannington, Hants., which means 'the town of the sons of Hann'; also in two other Hanningtons, in Northamptonshire and Wilts. respectively, as well as in three Hanningfields, all in Essex. Also in the A.S. *Hanninge* (for *Hanninga*), *i.e.* 'place of the Hannings'; in *Hann-īge*, now Hanney or 'Hann-island' in Berks.; and perhaps in Hansfleot (for Hannesfleot); see Kemble's Index. In other places, Han- may have a different sense; thus Hanbury (Worc.) means 'at the high borough,' A.S. *hēanbyrig*, and Hanwell (Midd.) means 'Hana's well.' The D.B. form omits the double *n*, just as it omits the double *n* in the old form of Manshead (p. 27).

31. Mead.

Bushmead; in Eaton Socon (Kelly); but much nearer to Colmworth.—From *bush* and *mead*. The old spellings are *Bysmede*, A.M.; *Bissemede*, F.A.; which are remarkable not only for the use of *s* or *ss* to denote the sound of *sh* (not uncommon with Norman scribes), but also for the use of *i* or *y* for the modern *u*. Bushey (Herts.) also appears in H.R. as *Bissey*; and the A.S. for 'bush' must have been *bysc*.

In Mr Duignan's Place-names of Worcestershire, he hesitates to derive Bushley from *bush ley* (or *lea*) because the old spellings are *Biselega* (D.B.), *Bisseley* (Subsidy Rolls), and *Bushley* (in later documents). He adds—"we have no authority for accepting the D.B. *Bise* or the later *Bisse-* as forms of bush." But the examples of Bushmead and Bushey make it quite clear that we *have* such authority; which solves his difficulty.

32. Mount.

Mount or *Mont* is a suffix of French origin; from the Old French *mont*, a hill.

Ridgmount, or Ridgmont.—Mr Airy says:—"The name of this place, formerly spelt Rougemont—the red hill—is comparatively modern, being compounded of two Norman words, and therefore subsequent to the Conquest. At that period the whole place was comprised in the manor of Segenhoe."

I have not found the spelling Rougemont in early times. I suspect it to be a mere creation of some guessing antiquary, haunted, as usual, by the belief that all names are sure to be 'corruptions.'

It is spelt *Rugemond* in F.A.; and *Ridgmond* as late as in Magna Britannia (1720—31). In Pigot's Atlas (1831) it is Ridgemont. I have no means for deciding the question. I think the explanation given above to be very doubtful. The spelling *Rugemond* is indecisive; for *ruge* might be a less correct form of *rugge*, the usual Middle English form of the modern word *ridge*; and even *mond* might represent the A.S. *mund*, or the modern English *mound*. So that the native phrase 'ridge-mound' is far more likely than the alleged French form. The question awaits further early evidence. Surely the word *rouge* was uncommon in Early English; and it could only have given rise to some such form as *Rudgemont*, certainly not to a syllable containing an *i*.

33. Pool.

Copple; to the E. of Cardington.—The old spellings are curious; viz. *Cochepol*, *Chochepol*, D.B.; *Coupol*, *Coupulle*, F.A.; *Coupul*, E.T.; *Couphulle* (error for *Coupulle*), Cat.; *Coupulk*, Cat. As *o* is often written for short *u* in D.B., the suffix is *pul* or *pulle*, answering to the A.S. *pul*, *pull*, nom., *pulle*, dative, meaning 'a pool.' The A.S. form exactly answering to the modern E. *pool* is *pōl*, with long *o*, to which *pull* appears to be related. English dialects also employ the form *pull*, with the same sense as *pool*. It will be observed that, in one instance,

the suffix is *pulk*, which represents the Mid. Eng. *polk*, prov. E. *pulk*, meaning 'a small pool,' as it is merely a diminutive form of *pull*, a pool. This variation is a fortunate one, as it puts the sense of *pul* or *pulle* beyond all doubt. The prefix presents some difficulty; it was evidently changed from the earliest form into something different. The later form *Cou-* is the usual later spelling of the A.S. *Cū*, a cow; so that the sense, in the thirteenth century, seems to have been 'cow-pool.' But as the vowel *u* in the form *Cow-pull* was short, it was easily altered to *Cowple*, and (the meaning being lost) to Cople.

But the earliest form was different. Both the spellings in D.B. refer to the same sound, which would better be expressed by the spelling *Coke-pull* or *Cuke-pull*. Of these it is necessary to select the latter, in which *Cuke-* became *Cuk-*, and then *Cū-*, by the loss of *k* before *p*. (The form *Coke-* would have given *Cok-*, and M.E. *Cō-*.) *Cuke* represents *Cucan*, the genitive of *Cuca*, which appears in *Cucan-healas* and *Cucan-dene*; Birch, Cart. Saxon. iii. 113, 140. *Cuca* is the weak form of *cuc*, a variant of *cwic*, lit. 'lively.' The sense is 'Cuca's pool.'

34. Sand.

Chicksands Priory; to the W. of Shefford.—Formerly Chicksand. Spelt *Chicesane*, D.B.; *Chikesand*, R.B., T.R.; *Chikesaund*, F.A., H.R.; *Chikesond*, E.T., T.N.; *Chiksond*, I.p.m. *Sond* is a common old variant of *sand*; the spelling *sane* in D.B. is erroneous. The *s* should probably be repeated; in which case, the form *Chikes* answers to an A.S. form *Cicces*, gen. of *Cic* or *Cicc*, a name which is not otherwise known; the sense being 'Cicc's sand.' This form has nothing in common with the Mid. Eng. *chike*, shortened form of *chiken*, a chicken; for this *chike* was unknown till after 1300.

35. Snade.

Snade represents the A.S. *snǣd* (with long *æ*), a slice, morsel, bit, portion, formed (with mutation of long *a* to long *æ*) from *snād*, the second grade of the root-verb *snīthan*, to cut. It meant a separated piece, a strip of land.

WHIPSNADE; to the S. of Dunstable.—More correctly Wipsnade; the insertion of the *h* is late and unauthorised. Spelt *Wybesnade*, F.A., E.T.; *Wibesnade*, I.p.m.; *Whipsnade*, I.p.m., vol. ii. (later). The *s* should probably be repeated; in which case *Wibes* corresponds to an A.S. form *Wibes*, from a nom. *Wibi*; this form is not otherwise known, except as appearing again in Wibs-ey, near Bradford, Yorks. Otherwise, *Wibe* must represent Wibban, gen. of Wibba, which is a known name; according to Florence of Worcester, Wibba was the father of Penda, king of Mercia. It also occurs in the A.S. Wibban-dun, *i.e.* Wibba's down, perhaps Wimbledon in Surrey; and in the A.S. Wibbe-toft, in Warwickshire (Thorpe). The right sense is probably 'Wibi's portion'; or else 'Wibba's portion.' It hardly matters, as Wibi and Wibba are related 'strong' and 'weak' forms. The A.S. *Hwipstede*, in Thorpe, Diplomatarium, p. 596, is thought to be Whepstead in Suffolk. Certainly, the prefix in it seems to be different.

36. STAPLE.

Staple.—There are two words thus spelt in English. One of them denotes the chief commodity of a place; this is of French origin, and has nothing to do with place-names, as is usually but erroneously assumed. The other *staple*, now chiefly used of a hoop of iron, is the true English word, though greatly changed in sense. The A.S. *stapol* meant a post or pillar; also, something that supports or holds a thing firmly. It occurs in Stapleford in Cambs., that is 'a ford marked by a fixed pole or post'; and also in Dunstable.

DUNSTABLE.—Spelt *Donestaple*, F.A.; *Dunstaplia* (a Latinised form), A.M.; *Dunestaple*, E.T. Also *Dunestapel* in the A.S. Chronicle, under the year 1125. The Anglo-French *Dunestapel* and *Donestaple* are to be divided as *Dun-estapel*, *Don-estaple*; answering to an A.S. form *Dūn-stapel*, lit. 'down-staple,' *i.e.* 'hill-pillar.' Probably named from some conspicuous pillar on one of the neighbouring downs.

37. Stead.

Hence the compound *home-stead*, a home station, a settlement, farm; A.S. *hām-sted*.

Wilshamstead, or Wilstead (Kelly); near Bedford.—Spelt *Winessamestede*, D.B.; *Wyleshamstede*, E.T.; *Wilshampsted*, F.A. The D.B. spelling solves the name. It is from A.S. *Wines-hāmstede*, where *Wines* is the gen. of *Wini*, later form *Wine*, a rather common name. Indeed, the A.S. *wine* simply means 'friend,' though also employed as a personal name. The name should rather have been *Winshamstead*; but *l* was substituted for *n* not long after the Conquest. The sense is 'Wine's homestead.' The A.S. *wine* was pronounced *winny*. It occurs again in Wins-low (Bucks.), Wins-hill (Derb.).

38. Stoke.

Stoke is closely related to *stock*, A.S. *stoc*, a stock, trunk of a tree, perhaps also sometimes the stump of a stone cross. It occurs in Redbournestoke, once a place-name, but now only surviving as the name of a hundred. Spelt *Radburnestoch*, *Radeburnesoca*, D.B.; *Radeburnestoke*, A.M.; *Redbournestoke*, F.A.; *Radburnestok*, H.R.; *Radeborne*, *Radeburne*, R.C.; *Redburne*, R.B.

I have shown, in my Place-names of Herts., that the names Radwell and Radnor may fairly be interpreted as meaning, respectively, 'red well' and 'red bank'; from the A.S. *rēad*, red. So here, I suppose the sense of Redbourne or Radbourne to be simply 'red bourne,' *i.e.* red stream. We find *to rēadan burnan*, to the red bourne, in Birch, Cart. Saxon. iii. 587. Then Redbournestoke will refer to 'a stump near the red bourn.' The comparative *redder* is spelt *raddere* in Political Songs, ed. Wright (Camden Society), p. 330.

39. Stow.

Stow means 'a place'; whence the verb *to bestow* or *stow away*, to put into its place. It occurs in Elstow.

Elstow.—Spelt *Elnestou*, D.B.; *Elnestow*, E.T.; *Elnestowe*,

T.N., I.p.m., F.A., H.R., vol. ii.; *Alnestowe*, H.R., and Close Rolls (1224); *Alnestow*, *Aunestow*, A.M.; *Elnystow*, F.A. Kelly remarks that it was 'formerly Helenstow,' of which there is no evidence. It is clearly a guess, in order to explain the spelling in D.B.; the alternative spellings not having been observed. Judith, Countess of Huntingdon, niece of William the Conqueror, founded a nunnery at Elstow in 1078, which, according to Lysons (Magna Britannia, p. 81), was "dedicated to the Holy Trinity, St Mary, and St *Helen*." This is the piece of evidence on which the fable was founded, that the D.B. *Elnes* meant 'Helen's.' But in D.B. itself, under *Elnestou*, the nuns are called the nuns of St Mary; and, under Wilshamstead, we are told that "the Countess Judith gave the manor in alms to the Church of S. Mary at Elstow"; see Airy's Digest. So that, at that date, the church was not called the church of St Helen, but of St Mary. Further, the form *Elena*, the A.S. form of Helen, or any French form of the same, would not have been cut down to *Eln* between 1078 and 1086, when the Domesday Survey was completed. Thirdly, it is impossible that any form of the gen. case of Helen could have appeared as *Alnes* or *Aunes*, or *Alne* or *Aune*, at any early date; and it may be noted that *Alnestow* is a common form of Elstow. I find, moreover, that there was another *Alnestowe*, the name of a hundred in Rutlandshire; see Rotulorum Originalium Abbreviatio, i. 241. This hundred-name is spelt Alsto in Pigot's Atlas, and Alstoe elsewhere.

It is clear to any one at all accustomed to these old spellings that, in the forms *Eln-*, *Aln-*, *Aun-*, we have to deal with a much abbreviated form; and the use of the equivalent prefixes *El-*, *Al-*, points to the usual abbreviation of *Æthel-*, or of *Ælf-*, both very common prefixes. The use of *A* or *E* indicates the A.S. *Æ*, which had the sound of *a* in *apple*, intermediate to the Latin and A.S. *a* and *e*. The *-n-* is a much reduced remnant of some usual suffix, the only three available being *-nōth*, *-hūn* and *-wine*. Practically, the only likely A.S. representatives of *Eln-*, *Aln-* are Æthelnōth, Ælfnōth, Æthelhūn, Ælfhūn, Æthelwine, and Ælfwine; all fairly common. But Æthelwine and Ælfwine do not part with the *w*; their shortened forms

are Alwin or Elwin. I think the choice lies between Æthelnōth and Ælfnōth; of which the latter is the easier, and occurs both as Alnōth and Elnōth. The abbreviation of *Ælfnōthes* to *Alnes* or *Elnes* is certainly possible; so that all points to the probability that Elstow originally meant 'Ælfnōth's stow.' It is not more remarkable than the proved reduction of 'Eadwulf's tree' to Elstree.

By way of further illustration of the difficulty of deciphering these contracted forms, I may state that Alston in Worc. means 'Ælfsige's town'; Alston in Staffordshire means 'Ælfweard's town'; Alstone in Glouc. means 'Ælfred's town'; and Alston in Somersets. means 'Ælfnōth's town.' See Duignan's Worc. Place-names, p. 3. The presence of the *-n-* helps us in the case that we are now discussing.

I had arrived at this probability as to the origin of Elstow when it occurred to me to consult the Domesday Book for Rutlandshire as to the old spelling of the *other* place-name which likewise appears as *Alnestowe*. On opening the record, the first name that meets the eye, twice over, is *Alfnodestov*, in large characters. This settles the question, and enables us to conclude, past all doubt, that the true old name of Elstow was 'Ælfnōthes stōw.'

40. Thorpe.

The A.S. *thorp*, a village, appears sometimes as an independent name. There are Thorpes in Lincs., Essex, Norfolk, and elsewhere. It is also spelt *throp* or *thrup*; hence we have Thrup End, near Lidlington.

It also appears as a suffix, as in Milnthorpe, *i.e.* 'mill-village,' in Westmoreland. It is noted in the E. Dial. Dict., s.v. *Thorpe*, that Ravensthorpe in Northants. is pronounced Ranstrup. It is not doubted that this form *-trup* or *-trop* is sometimes further altered to *-drup* or *-drop*. It appears, accordingly, in Soul-drop, which lies to the S.E. of Knotting.

Souldrop.—Not in D.B.; spelt *Soldrope*, *Suldrope*, F.A.; *Sulthrop*, E.T.; *Suldrope*, H.R., vol. ii. The form *Sulthrop* is evidently the oldest, and proves that *drop* resulted from *throp*.

We might explain the spelling *Soldrope* by help of the prov. E. *sole*, a pool of stagnant water, which is still in use in Kent. Several place-names are formed from it; see the E. Dial. Dict. It represents the A.S. *sol*, a miry pond; and gives the sense as being 'pond-village.'

But the better spelling of the old prefix is obviously *Sul-*. This represents the A.S. *sylu*, a miry place, and gives the sense of 'mire-village.' It comes to the same thing.

41. Town, -Ton.

A large number of place-names end in *-ton*, the unstressed form of *town*, of A.S. *tūn*. The old sense of *town* was often a farm, a home-stead, a farm-house with all its belongings; it was from such a beginning that towns often took their rise.

Some names end in *-ing-ton* or *-in-ton*; these will be considered separately from the rest, in § 42 (p. 57).

In the first set we have Barton, Beeston, Campton, Carlton, Chalton, Charlton, Clifton, Clipstone, Dunton, Eaton, Everton, Flitton, Houghton, Kempston, Leighton, Luton, Marston, Milton, Potton, Shelton, Staughton, Stratton, Sutton, Westoning, Wootton, and Wyboston.

We may also consider Chawston at the same time, though it did not end in *-ton* originally.

In the second set we have Billington, Cardington, Chellington, Eggington, Goldington, Lidlington, Podington, Stevington, Toddington, Willington, and Wymington.

Harlington was formerly Harlingdon, and has already been noticed under -don (p. 14). The same remark applies to Caddington, Roxton, and Shillington (pp. 13, 16).

Barton in the Clay.—There are a large number of Bartons, and the word has been explained in the New Eng. Dict. Spelt *Bertone*, D.B.; *Bertune*, R.C.; *Berton*, I.p.m. It meant a demesne farm, or the demesne lands of a manor, not let out to tenants, but reserved for the lord's own use. Its simpler meaning was merely a 'farm-yard.' From the A.S. *bere-tūn*, a barley-enclosure, courtyard, farm-yard. From *bere*, barley; and *tūn*, an enclosure.

Beeston; near Sandy.—Spelt *Bistone*, D.B.; *Beston*, E.T., H.R., R.C.; *Beistune, Besetone*, R.B.; *Beestone*, F.A. The corresponding A.S. form would be *Bēos tūn*, where *Bēos* is the gen. of *Bēo*, used as a personal name. In the usual sense of 'bee,' the A.S. *bēo* is indeclinable in the singular, the pl. being *bēon*, Chaucer's *been*. Thus the sense is 'Bee's farm.' The name of John Bee occurs in 1428 in F.A.

Campton.—Spelt *Chambeltone* (with *Ch* for *C*), D.B.; *Cameltune, Kameltuue*, R.C.; *Cameltone*, F.A., A.M. The A.S. *camel* is only known in the sense of 'camel,' borrowed from Latin. If this had been adopted as a name, which is unlikely, we should have expected the gen. form *Cameles*. I cannot explain this place-name. There is a river named Camel in Cornwall; so perhaps there was once a stream so named in Beds. River-names are sometimes of Celtic origin.

Carlton; near Chellington. — Spelt *Carlentone*, D.B.; *Carletone*, R.C.; *Karleton*, T.N.; *Carlton*, F.A. There are many Carltons. *Carl* is the Norse equivalent of the A.S. *ceorl*, whence Charlton (below). The Old Norse *karl*, a husbandman, was also a proper name. Its combining form is *Karla-*; which seems to have been treated as an A.S. weak sb., with a gen. in *-an*, thus producing a form *Carlantun* instead of the more nearly correct *Karlatun*. It is remarkable that Carlton in Cambs. is likewise spelt *Carlentone* in D.B. The sense is 'Karl's farm.'

Chalton; near Sundon.—It seems to be the same place as the Cealhtun mentioned in Æthelstan Ætheling's will, which also mentions Hocganclif, apparently Hockliffe. The form *Cealhtun* stands for *Cealctūn*, according to the rule that *ct* becomes *ht* in Anglo-Saxon; see the explanation of Leighton (p. 52). Thus the sense is 'chalk farm.'

Charlton; to the S.W. of Blunham.—Misspelt *Chalton* on the Ordnance map; but D.B. mentions *Cerlentone* as a manor near Blunham.—Spelt *Cherletone*, R.B., F.A.; answering to A.S. *Ceorla tūn*, 'farm of the churls' or husbandmen; *ceorla* being the gen. pl. There are many Charltons.

Clifton, to the E. of Shefford.—It is also the name of a hundred. Spelt *Cliftone*, D.B.; *Clifton*, E.T., H.R., F.A., T.N. From A.S. *clif*, a cliff, steep slope. The sense is 'cliff farm.'

Clipstone, in Eggington (Kelly).—Spelt *Clipestun*, *Clippestun*, C.R.; *Clipston*, R.C. The spelling with final *-tun* shows that the word is Clips-ton, and not Clip-stone, as no doubt it is often thought to be. The prefix is *Clipes*, gen. of *Clip*, a personal name, of which we have one clear example; see Searle, Onomasticon, p. 137. The sense is 'Clip's farm.'

Dunton, near Eyworth.—Spelt *Daintone*, *Domtone*, D.B.; *Duninton*, T.N.; *Dountone*, F.A. The spellings in D.B. cannot be right; they are probably meant for *Danitone*, *Donitone*; the latter being the better. The spelling *Duninton* explains that the name is not compounded of *dūn*, a down, and *tūn*; but that the former element represents the A.S. *Dūnan*, gen. of *Dūna*; as in *Dunan heafde*, Birch, Cart. Saxon. ii. 603 (A.D. 947). The long *u* explains the form *Dountone*. The sense is 'Dūna's farm.'

Eaton.—There are two Eatons; and it is curious that they have different origins, as is apparent from the different early spellings.

Eaton Socon.—Spelt *Etone*, D.B., F.A., R.C., R.B., H.R.; *Eton*, T.N. Here *E-* represents the Mid. Eng. *e*, *ee*, A.S. *ēa*, a stream, a river; and the sense is 'farm on the stream.' As to *Socon*, I suppose it is the same as the word usually spelt *Soken*, A.S. *sōcn*, and has here the sense of 'a district within which certain legal privileges could be exercised.' It occurs in a like sense in Piers the Plowman, where there is a reference to 'Rutland soken'; B. ii. 110.

Eaton Bray.—Spelt *Eitone*, D.B.; *Eytone*, F.A.; *Eytone*, *Eitone*, R.B.; *Eyton*, E.T., H.R. So that the modern spelling should rather have been Eyton. The prefix is the Mid. Eng. *ey*, O. Mercian *ēg*, A.S. *īeg*, an island; a term loosely applied to any piece of land wholly or even partially surrounded by a stream or streams. The sense is 'island farm.' Bray is a family name. The church contains the arms of Edmund, Lord Braye (Kelly).

EVERTON, N.W. of Potton.—Spelt *Euretone*, D.B.; *Everton*, I.p.m., T.N. From A.S. *eofor*, a boar. Literally, 'boar farm.' There is an Everdon in Northants., and an Everley in Wilts., in which Ever thus appears without the gen. suffix.

FLITTON; in the hundred of Flitt.—Flitton is "bounded on the north by the Flitt, a tributary of the Ouse"; Kelly. There is a reference in R.C. to the hundred of *Fleytene* (error for *Fleytone*) or *Flitte*. In D.B., both the hundred and the town are called *Flictham*, probably an error for *Flittham*. We also find the spellings *Flitte*, T.N., E.T., F.A., I.p.m.; *Flitt*, H.R.; *Flitton hundred*, I.p.m. *Flitt* may suitably denote a stream, as being a slightly contracted form of A.S. *flēot*, a stream, prov. E. *fleet*, a shallow channel. We may explain Flitton as 'the farm by the Flitt.' Fletton in Hunts. is from the same A.S. *flēot*.

HOUGHTON CONQUEST.—Spelt *Houstone*, D.B.; *Houctone*, *Hougtone*, A.M.; *Hoctune*, *Houcton*, *Hohtune*, *Hochtone*, *Houghtone*, R.C.; *Houton*, H.R. The *s* in D.B., and the *c*, *g*, *ch*, *gh*, all represent the final guttural (like the German *ch*) in the A.S. *hōh*, a spur or slope of a hill. The sense is 'farm on a hill-slope.' The same A.S. *hōh* is the origin of the termination -HOE, already discussed (p. 29).

Kelly notes that the church has two brasses to members of the Conquest family, dated 1493 and 1500 respectively. I find a mention of John Conquest, of Clopham, *i.e.* Clapham, in 1316; F.A. In Magna Britannia, it is noted that the patrons of the living were then (1720) the Earl of Aylesbury and Sh. Conquest, Esq. It is now in the gift of St John's College, Cambridge.

HOUGHTON REGIS.—That is, King's Houghton; with reference to William I. In D.B. it is said to be 'the royal demesne manor, rated as to ten hides.'

KEMPSTON.—Spelt *Camestone*, D.B.; *Kemeston*, Ex. R., F.A.; *Coembestune*, *Kemestone*, *Kembestone*, R.C.; *Kemmeston*, Cl. R.; *Kemyston*, *Kemston*, *Kempston*, T.N. The use of *a* for *e* in D.B. tends to show that the original vowel was *æ*. It could not have been *e*, as the A.S. *Ce* becomes *Che* in modern

names. In a charter printed in Kemble, iv. 143, and in Thorpe, Diplomat. p. 381, there is a mention of 'Crangfeldæ et Kemestan.' Thorpe says that Kemestan refers to Kempston in Norfolk, but it rather means Kempston in Beds., which is only six miles from Cranfield in a direct line. In footnote 14 on p. 383, Thorpe gives a much older spelling, viz. *Cæmbestunœ*, from another MS. Here *Cæmbes* is the gen. of *Cæmb*, so that the sense is 'Cæmb's farm.' No other example of the name *Cæmb* is known, but the A.S. *camb* means a comb, a crest of a cock, or a crest on a helmet, and the last sense might easily serve as a distinguishing name for a man. There is a Kempsey in Worcestershire, but the D.B. spelling is different, viz. *Chemesige*, and the A.S. form is *Cymesige*, probably a contraction for *Cymenesige*, 'Cymen's isle,' as Mr W. H. Duignan suggests in his book on Worcestershire Place-names. The *c* before *y* remains hard.

Leighton Buzzard.—Spelt *Lestone* (with *s* for A.S. *h*, as often), D.B.; *Leyton*, H.R.; *Leyhton*, T.N.; *Leytune*, A.M.; *Leython Busard*, E.T. (1291); *Leythone Busard*, F.A. (1316); and *Leghton Busard*, temp. Henry III., I.p.m. Spelt *Leighton Beaudesert*, Magna Britannia (1720), without any authority; but the name was probably given to it to enable some antiquary to discover one more absurd 'corruption' in place-names. Kelly says: "thought to be a corruption of Beaudesert, though some have derived it from *Bossard*, one of whom was Knight of the shire in the time of Edw. III." However, the name was already spelt *Busard* even in the time of Henry III.; and it is obviously derived from the name of a family called *Busard* (with one *s*). No doubt the family name was taken from the Mid. Eng. *busard*, O.F. *busart*, a buzzard; such nick-names were common at that date, especially if uncomplimentary. A buzzard was an inferior kind of a hawk, useless for falconry, and so came to be an epithet for a stupid man. The old proverb, 'one cannot make a sparrow-hawk of a buzzard,' is quoted in the Romaunt of the Rose, l. 4033, and occurs in the French original, which is of early date. It follows that the modern spelling *Buzzard* is absolutely correct.

As to Leighton, there is no difficulty. There are plenty of Leightons, because the word simply meant 'garden.' It is from the A.S. *lēah-tūn*, lit. 'leek-town,' *i.e.* place for cultivating leeks, which was once a general word for vegetables. The A.S. for leek is *lēac*; but this became *lēah* on account of the phonetic law whereby almost every A.S. *ct* passed into *ht*. Exceptions are not common; however, Acton is one. I have already explained this in my Place-names of Hunts., a county which contains two Leightons and a Leightonstone; and Herts. possesses a Layton.

Luton.—This interesting place-name has never been properly explained. It occurs as *Lygtūnes*, in the gen. case, in the Parker MS. of the A.S. Chronicle, under the year 917; and as *Lygetūn* in a late copy of a charter, in Thorpe, Diplomatarium, p. 403. This has often been said to refer to Leighton Buzzard, of which the A.S. form was *Lēahtūn*: but it can hardly be contended that *yge* and *eah* are the same thing!

Yet the matter is extremely simple. The river now called the Lea was called in A.S. *Lyge*; see the A.S. Chronicle, under the year 895, where it occurs as *Lygan*, in the dative case. It is clear that *Lyge-tūn* means 'Lea-town'; and it is a fact that Luton is on the river Lea, whilst Leighton Buzzard is not.

The phonology of the river-name is a little difficult. It resembles the A.S. *lyge*, a falsehood, mod. E. *lie*, which in many Northern dialects became *lee*, a form used even in Harding's Chronicle. Perhaps this helps to explain it. It also remains as Lea in the place-name Leagrave. We should rather have expected the modern name to have been the Lye; and it is interesting to find that in Magna Britannia (1720) the name of Leagrave is spelt Ligrave.

But it can also be shown, independently of phonology, that the A.S. *Lygetun* must be Luton. In Collections towards the History and Antiquities of Beds. (1783), p. 29, it is rightly said that Luton, formerly Lygetun, was given by King Offa to St Albans in 795. The Charter is extant in Birch, Cart. Saxon. i. 367; clearly assigning to St Albans some land at Lygetun.

But in the Collectanea for Bedfordshire, p. 52*, we read: "Vicar' in eccl' de Luton, que est Abbat' et Convent' Sti. Albani, auctoritate concilii ordinata est hoc modo, A.D. 1209"; Reg. in the Bp of Lincoln's Registers; and there is a note that "the abbey held the rectory in their own hands only from 1166 to 1199; after which they appointed a vicar." This shows, beyond a doubt, that Lygetun was Luton.

At the last reference the name of the place is given as Luton, Luyton, or Lee Lauton, and is there explained as signifying 'the town by the water,' *i.e.* by the river 'Lee.'

It is somewhat surprising that the river Lyge should now be spelt Lea, even though we remember that the A.S. *g* denoted a *y*-sound, or a mere glide; no doubt it became *Lië* in Mid. Eng., with *i* as in E. *machine*, just as the adj. *drȳge* (now *dry*) became *drië*, with the same *i*. But there its development was arrested; the final *e* fell away, and a sound was left which we should now denote by *Lee*. This Lee, which would be the correct spelling, has been altered to Lea in comparatively modern times by the influence upon the eye of the written word *lea* in the sense of meadow, and is quite unmeaning. It does not mean that it would have rhymed with *sea* in the days when *sea* was pronounced as *say*.

But in composition with *-ton*, the result was different. The old spellings are: *Loitone*, D.B.; *Luitone*, F.A.; *Luiton*, Cl. R.; *Luitona*, R.C.; *Luyton*, R.C., I.p.m.; *Luton*, H.R. Here the *i* or *y* may represent the glide denoted by the *g* in *Lyge-*, the final *e* being suppressed; the Norman long *ū* being used to denote the very sound which in A.S. was written as long *ȳ*; *i.e.* the sound of the modified *u* in the German *grün*, green. After this, the glide-sound was soon entirely lost, so that we already find the modern spelling in H.R.; whilst the *u* was developed precisely as if it had been of *French* origin, so that it is now sounded like the *u* in *lunar* or *lucid* or *lucre*; or like the *ui* in *fruit*.

Another explanation of the spelling *ui* is afforded by the fact that it was sometimes employed in place of the A.S. *ȳ*; and perhaps this supposition is the easier of the two, the *-ge* being ignored.

Marston Morteyne.—Spelt *Merstone*, D.B.; *Merston*, E.T., H.R., T.N.; *Mershton*, F.A. There are many Marstons. They all mean 'marsh town' or 'marsh farm.' In F.A. i. 2, I find: "Constantinus de Morteyn tenet manerium de Merston cum villa de Merston"; A.D. 1284—6.

In the same parish is Marston Pillinge. For the explanation of Pillinge, see under -ING (p. 35).

Milton.—It would be an easy guess to derive Milton from *mill*; and it would be wrong.

It is a remarkable fact that a large number of our Miltons were once called Middleton, *i.e.* 'middle farm.' The number of Middletons that still remain is surprising; there are more than twenty.

Spelt *Mildentone*, D.B. (wrongly); but also *Middeltone*, D.B. (rightly); *Middelton*, H.R., T.N. In the A.S. Chronicle, both Milton Abbas (Dors.) and Milton (Kent) are spelt *Middletun*. Both Milton Bryant and Milton Ernest were once called Middleton. Bryant refers to the family of Brian, and Ernest to the family of Ernys. "Rogerus Extraneus tenet . . . un. f.m. in Middelton per heredem Roberti Brian, qui est tanquam in custodia sua, de heredibus de Bello Campo (Beauchamp), et idem heredes de rege"; F.A. i. 1 (1284—6). "Johannes Ernys et alii quondam tenuerunt di.f.m. in Midyltone"; F.A. i. 38 (1428).

Potton.—Spelt *Potone*, D.B.; *Potton*, H.R., T.N., R.C., F.A., E.T. Spelt *Pottune*, dat., in the will of Ælfhelm of Wratting, Cambs.; Birch, Cart. Saxon. iii. 630. It doubtless stands for Pottantun, *i.e.* 'Potta's farm.' The name of Pot or Potta may also be inferred from the tribal name Potting, which occurs both in Potting-dun and in Potting-tun; both are in Kemble's Index.

Shelton; in the N. end of the county.—Spelt *Eseltone*, *Esseltone*, D.B.; *Sceltone*, F.A.; *Shelton*, T.N. In D.B. the *s* or *ss* is a makeshift for the sound of *sh*, which did not exist in Norman. The A.S. symbol was *sc*. The prefixed *E* in the D.B. forms is very characteristic; as the Normans could not easily pronounce the E. *sh* without a preparatory vowel-sound.

Hence such forms as *establish, especial*, as parallel to *stablish, special*. The A.S. form with the same prefix is *Scelfdune*, dative; Earle, Land Charters, p. 396. *Scelf-dun* is a compound, meaning 'shelf-down,' or 'down with shelving slopes,' applied to the neighbouring hill. And Shelton, for Shelf-ton, means 'the sloping-hill farm.' There is a Shelton in Staffordshire with the same origin (see Duignan's Staffs. Place-names); and there are Sheltons in Norfolk and Notts.

STAUGHTON; called Little Staughton or Staughton Parva.—Great Staughton is in Hunts., and is explained in my Place-names of Hunts. as equivalent to Stockton. The spellings *Stoctone, Stokton, Stoutone*, all in F.A., corroborate this. For the explanation of *stock* see Redbournestoke, explained under STOKE (p. 44). The sense is 'stock farm,' or 'farm near a stump.' The *ct* in A.S. *stoctūn* became *ght* precisely as the *ct* in A.S. *lēac-tun* became *ght* in Leighton. See the explanation of LEIGHTON (p. 52).

STRATTON.—Stratton Park lies to the S.E. of Biggleswade. Spelt *Stratone*, D.B.; *Stratton*, F.A. Lit. 'street town,' or the farm beside the street. The street is the Old Roman Way which extends, almost in a straight line, from Biggleswade to Baldock.

SUTTON; to the S. of Potton.—Spelt *Sudtone, Suttone*, D.B.; *Suttone*, R.C.; *Sutton*, E.T., F.A. The spelling *Sudtone* is intermediate between Sutton and the original A.S. Sūthtūn. The sense is merely 'south farm.' There are more than forty Suttons.

WESTONING.—Not in D.B.; spelt *Weston*, E.T., H.R.; *Weston Ing*, Cat. The suffixed *Ing* has already been explained under -ING (p. 36). The sense is 'west farm,' lit. *west-town*; and it was once tenanted by Wm. Ing. There are nearly thirty Westons.

WOOTTON; to the S.W. of Bedford.—Spelt *Otone*, D.B.; *Wodetone*, R.B.; *Wotton*, F.A., E.T.; *Witon*, H.R. The spelling *Otone*, for *Wotone*, is due to the loss of *w* before *o* or *u* in Norman; they called a *wood*, a *'ood*. The spelling *Witon*

points back to a very old time, when the early A.S. form *widu*, a wood, was still in use, and is in this case dialectally preserved; the more usual form is *wudu*, whence E. *wood*. The literal sense is *wood-town, i.e.* 'wood farm.' There is still a wood at Wootton, called Wootton Wood. There are a dozen Woottons and three Wottons.

Wyboston; in Eaton Socon.—It lies to the W. of Little Barford. Spelt *Wiboldestone*, D.B.; *Wyboldiston*, H.R. The sense is obviously 'Wigbald's farm.' *Wīgbald* is the Mercian spelling of the A.S. *Wīgbeald*, a known name of which there are six examples. *Wīg* means 'war,' and *beald* means 'bold.' There is another Wyboston in Hunts., which I have already thus explained in my Place-names of Hunts., on less clear evidence. Wobaston in Staffordshire is only another form of the same word, and is explained from the same source in Duignan's Place-names of Staffs.

Chawston.—This is the most convenient place for considering Chawston, though this name did not originally end in *-ton*. It lies to the N. of Roxton. Spelt *Chauelestorne*, *Calnestorne* (for *Caluestorne*), D.B.; *Calvesterne*, R.B.; *Chalmstern* (probably an error for *Chaluistern*), H.R.; *Chalvesterne*, R.C., F.A., I.p.m.; *Chalsterne*, F.A. As to this difficult form, of which neither element is at all certain, I can only guess. Perhaps some one else may hereafter interpret it better. As to the former element, we can best reconcile the two forms in D.B. by supposing them to represent *Chalves* and *Calves*. I think these answer, respectively, to the A.S. *Cealfes* and O. Mercian *Calfes*, genitives of A.S. *Cealf* and O. Merc. *Calf*, modern E. *calf*, respectively. This requires that *chalf* should be a dialectal form for *calf*, but there is evidence for this form only in the Kentish dialect. For Kentish, it is quite certain; for in the A.S. versions of the Gospels, in Luke xv. 27, the two Kentish MSS. have the readings *chealf* and *chalf*. The development of the sound of *cea-* is difficult; for while the A.S. *cealf* answers to the modern E. *calf*, the A.S. *cealc* answers to the modern E. *chalk*; a fact of which I do not remember to have seen an explanation. My theory is that, whilst the A.S. *cealf*

was superseded by the O. Merc. *calf* (whence the modern E. *calf*), the A.S. *Cealf*, considered as a proper name, produced a Middle English form *Chalf*, whence a later *Chauf*; the genitive of which would be *Chalves*, later *Chauves*, and finally *Chaws*. We have no evidence that the A.S. *Cealf* was used as a personal name, but the use of the names of animals as personal names has always been common in English; and in Bardsley's work on English Surnames, we are told, with reference to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, that "Richard le Calf, Godwin le Bulloc, Roger le Colt are all of common occurrence, and still abide with us."

The second half of the word is also very difficult. I suppose the D.B. suffix *-torn* to represent the A.S. *thorn*, a thorn. The change from the difficult *sth* to the simple *st* would be natural enough, especially for a Norman. That this is right, is rendered probable by the alternate form *-tern*, which would equally well represent the A.S. *thyrne*, a thornbush. I have shown, in my Place-names of Hunts., that the place-name Bythorn (by the thorn) was originally called Bytherne (by the thornbush); and the name was naturally altered when the old word *therne* became obsolete.

I would explain in a like manner the name Woodmansterne, in Surrey. A very likely sense is 'woodman's thornbush.'

The result of my guesses as to Chawston is that it originally meant 'Cealf's thorn' or 'Cealf's thornbush.' All that is certain is that the modern ending *-ton* is delusive, and that it cannot have formerly meant 'town' or 'farm.'

42. The suffix -ington.

I now come to consider the names that end in *-ington*.

They can (with some trouble) be divided into two sets. In the former, the ending is correctly used and refers to tribal or family settlements. But in the latter it is used erroneously, and has been substituted for something else.

In the former class are included the following: Billington, Cardington, Goldington, Lidlington, Podington, and Toddington.

In the doubtful class are included the following: Chellington, Eggington, Stevington, Willington, and Wymington.

Billington, to the S. of Leighton Buzzard.—*Billinges*, R.C.; *Billing, Billingbure*, R.B. Literally 'farm of the Billings,' or of the sons of Billa. Billa is a known name. The Billings are further commemorated in Billingborough (Lincs.), Billingford (Norf.), Billingham (Durham), Billinghay (Lincs.), Billingshurst (Sussex), and in the famous Billingsgate.

Cardington.—Ill-spelt *Chernetone*, D.B.; *Kerdingtone*, R.C.; *Kerdington*, H.R., F.A., E.T.; *Kerdyngton*, I.p.m. Apparently, 'the farm of the Cærdings,' or of the sons of Cærda. The name Cærda occurs in Cærdan-hlæw, *i.e.* Cærda's low or burial mound; see Birch, Cart. Saxon. iii. 147. There is another Cardington in Shropshire.

Goldington.—Spelt *Goldentone*, D.B.; *Goldington*, T.N., E.T.; *Goldingthone*, F.A. It is the 'farm of the Goldings or sons of Golda'; which is a known name.

Lidlington.—The *d* is incorrect; it should certainly be Litlington. Spelt *Litincleton*, D.B. (incorrectly); *Litlington*, T.N.; *Litlingtune*, A.M. The same as Litlington in Cambs., which is also spelt *Lutlington*. As *i* and *u* both result from an A.S. *y*, the A.S. form would be *Lytlinga-tūn*, *i.e.* 'farm of the Lytlings'; from A.S. *lytel*, modern E. *little*. The name of Eadric Lytle (spelt *litle*) occurs in Birch, Cart. Saxon. iii. 369; and the name Lytelman (little man) occurs in Searle's Onomasticon. I think this explanation better than the one given in my Place-names of Cambs., where I wrongly supposed that Lidlington (Beds.) is correctly spelt with a *d*; whereas the *d* is modern.

Podington, or Puddington; in the N.W. corner of the county.—Spelt *Podintone*, D.B.; *Podingtone*, F.A.; *Podington*, T.N., E.T. The Normans used *o* to denote both the *o* in *pod* and the *u* in *pudding*; so that the old spellings tell us nothing. If we are guided by the spelling Puddington, we may take the name to mean 'farm of the Pudings' or sons of Puda: which is a known name. The alternative is to take Poddings as meaning 'sons of Podda'; which is also a known name.

Toddington.—Spelt *Dodindone* (for *Todindone*), *Dodintone*

(for *Todintone*), D.B.; *Todingedon*, H.R.; *Todingduna*, A.M.; *Todingdon*, F.A., E.T.; *Todingtone*, R.B.; *Tudingdone*, A.M. The suffix thus seems doubtful, but the name may have been two-fold; in which case *Todingedon* would refer to a hill, and *Todingeton* to a farm near it.

As the Norman *o* often signifies an A.S. *u*, we may pay especial attention to the spelling *Tudingdone*, and to the much later spelling *Tuddington*, given in Magna Britannia (1720). The tribe or family referred to must be, I think, the Tudings, or sons of Tuda (originally, according to Sweet, pronounced with long *u*). Tuda is a well-authenticated name, and occurs in the A.S. Chronicle. We even find Tudincgatun, probably Toddington, in Thorpe, Diplom. p. 527.

I now proceed to consider the second class of names ending in *-ington*, which do not really refer to names of tribes or families.

Chellington; near Harrold.—Not in D.B. Spelt *Chelwintone*, *Chelwentone*, *Chelvyntone*, F.A.; *Chelwinton*, I.p.m.; *Chelvynton*, I.p.m., vol. ii.; *Chelinton*, T.N.; *Cheleton*, A.M. The prefix represents *Ceolwynne*, gen. of *Ceolwynn*, a female personal name. Female names are not common, but a few clear examples occur, probably from the occupation of a farm by a widow. The genitive of a fem. strong sb. ends in *-e* instead of *-es*, and regularly disappears in later forms. The sense is 'Ceolwynn's farm.'

Eggington; E. of Leighton Buzzard.—Spelt *Egginton* in Magna Britannia (1720); so that the intrusion of the *g* is quite modern. There is another Eggington in Derbyshire, which is spelt *Ekynton*, *Egindon* in F.A.; *Eginton*, I.p.m.; *Egentona*, A.M. Perhaps the prefix answers to A.S. *Ecgwynne*, gen. of *Ecgwynn*, a known female name. The A.S. *cg* regularly denoted *gg*. The sense is 'Ecgwynn's farm.' It can hardly mean 'Ecga's farm,' as that would have become Egton. There is an Egton in Yorkshire.

Stevington, or Steventon (Kelly); to the E. of Turvey.—Spelt *Stiuentone*, D.B.; *Stiventon*, *Styventon*, R.C.; *Stivintone*, *Steventone*, R.B.; *Steventone*, *Stevintone*, F.A. *Stiven* represents

an A.S. form *Styfan*, gen. of *Styfa*, in which the *f* was pronounced as *v*. This name is not recorded, but occurs in the diminutive form *Styfec* at least thrice. From the genitive *Styfeces* was formed the name of Stetchworth, Cambs.; see my Place-names of Cambs., p. 27; and also Stechford in Worcestershire. And from the weak form Styfeca is derived the name of Stukeley in Hunts. The sense is 'Styfa's farm.' The change from Stiventon to Steventon was doubtless owing to the influence of the Norman name of Stephen. There is another Steventon in Hants., and another in Berks.

Willington; to the E. of Bedford.—Spelt *Welitone*, D.B.; *Wyliton*, E.T.; *Willinton*, F.A., p. 50 (1316). The D.B. form is the oldest and the best; *Weli* answers to A.S. *welig*, a willow-tree. The sense was probably 'willow farm.' See the explanation, under -LEY, of Willey, as the name of a hundred (p. 39).

Wymington, in the N.E. corner, near Puddington.—Spelt *Wimentone*, D.B.; *Wimetone*, A.M.; *Wimenton*, *Wymenton*, Cl.R.; *Wemyngtone*, F.A.; *Wyminton*, Cl.R., vol. ii.; *Wyminton*, *Wymington*, H.R., vol. ii. The evidence plainly suggests an A.S. form Wiman, gen. of Wima. But no such name as Wima is known. It may stand for Wilma, or we may suppose that the name is old, and has been much contracted; perhaps from Wigmund. There is no old authority for the alternative spelling Wynnington, as in Kelly.

43. Tree.

Only in Wixamtree, the name of a hundred. The place itself is now lost; but the sense is certain. Spelt *Wichestanestou*, D.B., where the suffix is E. *stow*, a place; *Wixtonestre*, *Wyxtonestre*, F.A.; *Wyxconestre*, H.R.; with the very common clerical error of *c* for *t*. The D.B. spelling *Wichestan* evidently represents *Wikestan*, a Norman form of the common A.S. name *Wigstan* or *Wihstan*, compounded of *wīg*, war, and *stān*, stone. The A.S. *hs* is often replaced by *x*, so that the later form *Wixton* accurately represents *Wihstan*. In the A.S. Chronicle,

under the date 800, Wihstan is also spelt Weohstan and Weoxtan. The name Wixamtree means 'Wīgstān's tree.'

44. Wade.

Wade is the A.S. *wæd*, a ford, a place where a stream can be waded through, cognate with (but not borrowed from) the Latin *uadum*, a ford.

Biggleswade, a town, and the name of a hundred.—Spelt *Bichelesuuade*, D.B.; also, erroneously, *Picheleswade*, and even *Bichelesuuorde*, D.B.; *Bikeleswad*, H.R.; *Bikeleswade*, E.T., A.M., I.p.m.; *Bicleswade*, T.N. The prefix answers to an A.S. form *Bicles*, gen. of *Bicel*, diminutive of the known name *Bica*, which, according to Sweet, had a long *i*. The nom. *Bicel* would become *Bichel* in later English, but the *k*-sound would be preserved in the gen. form *Bicles*, in which the *e* before the *l* would be dropped in A.S., though it would readily be reinserted by a Norman scribe. The old name must at first have been pronounced as Bickleswade, and the 'voicing' of *ck* to *gg* took place later. The sense is 'Bīcel's ford.'

45. Well.

As in Holwell, Ickwell, Radwell, Sewell.

Holwell; near Shillington, to the E.—Misspelt Holywell in Philips' Atlas. Spelt *Holewelle*, D.B., R.B., R.C.; *Holewell*, T.N.; *Holwelle*, R.C. We find *æt Holewelle* in a late charter, in Kemble, vi. 211; and an earlier form *to Holan wylle*, with reference perhaps to Holwell in Oxfordshire, in Birch, Cart. Saxon. ii. 568. Here *holan* is the dat. of *hol*, adj., hollow, and *wylle* is the dat. of *wyll*, a well. The sense is 'at the hollow well'; in the dative case.

Ickwell; in Northill (Kelly).—Spelt *Iekewelle* (for *Yekewelle*), F.A. (1346); *Gikewelle*, *Gykewella* (with *G* for *Y*), A.M. The Mid. Eng. *yek*, *yeke*, means a cuckoo, and is derived from the A.S. *gēac*, a cuckoo. The form *yek* was shortened to *yik*, and then the initial *y* was dropped; see this illustrated under Northill (p. 34). The sense is 'cuckoo-well.'

RADWELL; to the N.W. of Milton Ernest.—Spelt *Radeuuelle*, D.B.; *Radewelle*, F.A.; *Radevell*, T.N. I have discussed this name with reference to Radwell in Herts., where I give two solutions. It either means 'Ræda's well,' or else simply 'red well.' I believe the latter is right; see the notice of Redbournestoke, under the heading STOKE (p. 44).

SEWELL; in Houghton Regis (Kelly); near Totternhoe.—Kelly notes that Houghton Regis church contains an effigy of Sir John Sewell, knight. But Sewell was at first a place-name, and is spelt *Sewelle* in D.B.; compare 'Joh. de Sewelle,' F.A. And we find it as *Seuewella* in A.M. I suppose it to be the same as the A.S. *Syfan wylle*, *i.e.* 'Syfa's well,' mentioned in a Hants. charter dated 938; see Birch, Cart. Saxon. ii. 444. The A.S. *Syfan* would become *Seue* (*Seve*) in Norman; and the passage from *Sevewell* to *Sewell* is easy. The A.S. *Syfan* is the gen. of Syfa, a personal name that is not otherwise known, though it may possibly be related to Seofeca.

46. WICK.

As in Astwick, Flitwick, Hardwick, and Hinwick.

Wick represents the A.S. *wīc*, a village; not a native word, but borrowed from Lat. *uicus*.

ASTWICK.—Spelt *Estuuiche*, D.B.; *Estwike*, F.A. It means 'east village.'

FLITWICK; bounded on the S. by the river Flitt.—Spelt *Flicteuuiche* (with *ct* for *tt*), D.B.; *Flettewyk*, T.N.; *Flettewyc*, E.T.; *Flittewike*, A.M.; *Fletewyk*, I.p.m. It means 'village by the Flitt.' The spelling *Flete* represents the A.S. *flēot*, a stream. See the remarks on FLITTON (p. 50).

HARDWICK, to the S.W. of Felmersham.—Spelt *Herdwic*, H.R., vol. ii.; *Herdwik*, F.A. Hardwick in Cambs. is from A.S. *heorde*, a herd or flock. The sense is 'herd-village.' There are several Hardwicks.

HINWICK, near Puddington.—*Haneuuic*, *Heneuuic*, *Haneuuich*, *Heneuuich*, D.B.; *Henewike*, F.A.; *Henewic*, Cl.R., vol. ii.;

Hynewik, H.R., vol. ii.; *Hinewik*, H.R., vol. ii. The prefix answers to A.S. *Hanan*, gen. of *Hana*, a personal name. The sense is 'Hana's village.' The literal meaning of *hana* is a cock; the feminine is the modern E. *hen*.

47. Wold.

Wold is a late form of the O. Mercian *wald*, A.S. *weald*, a wood. It now often means a tract of open country.

Harrold.—Spelt *Hareuuelle*, D.B.; *Harewold*, F.A., T.N.; *Hareuuald*, *Harewaud*, C.R.; *Harewolde*, I.p.m. The D.B. form means 'hare-well,' and will not account for the modern form; the latter means 'hare-wold,' the *w* being dropped. Shakespeare has *old* for *wold*; King Lear, iii. 4. 125.

48. Worth.

As in Colmworth, Edworth, Eyworth, Tebworth, Tilsworth, Wrestlingworth.

The A.S. *worth* was applied to an enclosed homestead or farm. It is closely allied to *worth* in the sense of 'value'; and may be taken to mean 'property' or 'holding,' or 'farm.'

Colmworth, to the E. of Bolnhurst.—Spelt *Colmeworde*, *Culmeuuorde*, D.B.; *Colmwyrthe*, E.T.; *Colmeworthe*, F.A.; *Colmworth*, H.R. The prefix answers to A.S. *Culman*, gen. of *Culma*; and the sense is 'Culma's farm.' We do not find the exact form Culma elsewhere, but we find the related strong form *Culm*; and (with mutation of *u* to *y*) we also find both *Cylma* and *Cylm*. See Searle's Onomasticon.

Edworth.—Spelt *Edeuuorde*, D.B.; *Edesworthe*, *Edeworth*, F.A.; *Edeworth*, E.T.; *Eddewurth*, T.N.; *Eddeworthe*, I.p.m. The prefix answers to Eadan, gen. of Eada (with long *Ea*), a pet-name for any of the numerous names beginning with Ead-, as Eadwine, Eadweald, &c. The prefix *Edes-* in F.A. intimates that the name may once have been used in full; and if the name *Edwoldeshowe* in H.R. refers to Edworth, the full name was Eadweald. The sense is 'Ēada's farm,' possibly 'Ēadweald's farm.'

EYWORTH.—Spelt *Aieuuorde*, D.B.; also *Aisseuuorde*, D.B.; *Eyworthe*, H.R.; *Eyworth*, T.N., E.T., I.p.m., F.A. We may compare the prefix *Ey-* with the prefix in the old forms of EATON BRAY (p. 49); and so explain it as 'island-farm.' Eyworth is on a promontory between two rivers, and has streams both on the north and south-east. The form *Aisseuuorde*, if correct, is hard to explain; so that, in that case, the name remains unsolved. But it is probably a mistake.

TEBWORTH; between Hockliffe and Chalgrave.—Spelt *Thebworth* (with *Th* for *T*), A.M.; also *Thebbeworthe*, *Teburthe*, A.M. Fortunately, the A.S. form of the name occurs as *Teobbanwyrthe*, in the dat. case, in a charter relating to Chalgrave and Tebworth, dated 926; see Birch, Cart. Saxon. ii. 335. Thus the sense is 'Teobba's farm.'

TILSWORTH; to the N.W. of Dunstable.—Misspelt *Pileworde*, D.B.; *Tulesworthe*, H.R.; *Tulesworth*, *Tullesworth*, F.A.; *Tolesworthe*, R.B. The only A.S. known name that suits the prefix is the A.S. *Tugel*, occurring in *Tugeles mōr*, 'Tugel's moor,' in a charter dated 1044; see Kemble, Cod. Dipl. iv. 90, l. 8. As the A.S. *g* in such a word was a mere glide, and disappeared in the thirteenth century (so that, *e.g.* the A.S. *tigel* became *tile* in l. 1533 of the Cursor Mundi), the A.S. *Tugeles* would necessarily become *Tules* in H.R. The *o* in *Tolesworthe* is due to the frequent use of *o* for *u* by Norman scribes. A likely sense of Tilsworth is 'Tugel's farm.' But this is only a guess. If we could find such an A.S. form as *Tull*, it would fit better. We find the weak form *Tulla*.

WRESTLINGWORTH.—Spelt *Werateuuorde*, *Warateuuorde*, D.B.; *Wraslingwrthe*, E.T.; *Wrastlingworth*, F.A., Cl.R., vol. ii.; *Wrestlingworth*, H.R. The spellings in D.B. are valueless, owing to the inability of the Norman scribe to deal with the sound; but the use of *war*, *wer*, to denote *wr* is striking. The true A.S. spelling is *Wræstlingaworth*, meaning 'farm of the Wræstlings' or of the sons of Wræstel. Wræstel is a scarce name, but the gen. Wræstles occurs in the place-name *Wræstles hyll*, *i.e.* Wræstel's hill; Birch, Cart. Saxon. ii. 535. The literal sense of *wræstel* is 'one who wrests' or twists, but it

very likely had the sense of wrestler, of which the usual form is *wrœstlere*. There is a real connexion with the modern verbs *to wrestle* and *to wrest*.

49. Yate.

Yate is the A.S. *geat*, a gate. It occurs in Markyate.

Markyate; transferred to Herts. in 1897.—Spelt *Markyate*, E.T., I.p.m. Formerly called Markyate Street, often contracted to Market Street, because it lies on the famous old road called Watling Street. The word *mark* means 'boundary'; and the sense is 'boundary gate.' It is just on the boundary between Beds. and Herts.

50. Miscellaneous Names.

All the principal names that involve distinct suffixes or epithets have been discussed. A few more may be noted; most of the places are of little consequence.

Beadlow; near Clophill.—I find no early mention of it; but it probably represents A.S. *Bedan hlæw, i.e.* 'Beda's burial-mound.' See Bedford (under Ford, p. 19); and -low (p. 39).

Brogborow, or Brogborough.—Brogborough Middle Farm lies to the N. of Ridgmont. In F.A., vol. ii., the spellings *Brocbury* and *Brogbury* occur, with reference to a place in Herefordshire. So no doubt Brogborough stands for an older Brokborough, where Brok- is a shortened form of Brook, as in other cases. In fact, Brogborough is probably the *Brockeberge* mentioned in A.M. iii. 171. The sense is 'brook-fort.'

Broom; in Southill.—Spelt *Brom*, R.B. The reference is simply to the plant so called.

Chiltern.—Chiltern Green lies to the S.E. of Luton. Spelt *Ciltern* in the A.S. Chronicle, under the date 1009. In Birch, Cart. Saxon. iii. 52, there is a reference to *Cilte wudu, i.e.* 'Cilte wood'; and again, at p. 415, to *Cilte cumbe, i.e.* 'Cilte combe,' now Chilcombe (Hants.). *Ciltern* is compounded of *Cilt-* or *Cilte* and *œrn, ern*, a small house, habitation, cottage.

The meaning of *Cilte* is not known. *Cilt* looks like a feminine personal name, with a genitive in *-e*.

End.—There are a large number of places of which *end* forms a part. The signification is that of limit or boundary, the beginning or end of a piece of property, and the like. In most cases, local knowledge will supply the sense. There is a good example of its use in Chaucer's Canterbury Tales, in the Parson's Prologue, l. 12: 'As we were entringe at a thropes ende,' *i.e.* as we were arriving at the first beginning of a village.

Most of the examples need no explanation; I may instance Box End, Brook End, Bridge End, Hatch End, Kitchen End, Wood End, etc.

Haynes, or Hawnes.—The latter is the older form. Spelt *Hagenes*, D.B.; *Haunes*, E.T.; *Hawenes*, F.A.; *Hawnes*, I.p.m. It appears to be the genitive sing. from a nom. *Hagen*, a personal name; the word *hām*, home, or something equivalent, being omitted. We do not find the exact form *Hagen*, but the allied weak form *Hagena* occurs thrice, with variant forms *Hagana*, *Hagona*, and *Haguna*; all personal names. Also, the Latin gen. *Hagani*, as if from *Hagan*, which may be right. The change from A.S. *ag* to modern E. *aw* is regular and common.

Holme.—Holme Farm and Holme Green lie to the S. of Biggleswade. They take their name from a *holm* beside the river Ivel. The original meaning of *holm* is an island, but it is also applied to a piece of flat low-lying ground by a river or stream, submerged or surrounded in time of flood (New Eng. Dict.). From the Norse *holmr*, a meadow on a shore. Spelt *Holme*, F.A.; *Holm*, H.R., vol. ii.

Hyde.—West Hyde lies to the S. of Luton Hoo Park. The name *Hyde* is the same word as when we speak of a *hide*, or measure of land. From A.S. *hīgid*, a hide of land.

Kensworth.—Originally in Herts., but transferred to Beds. in 1897. The prefix represents the A.S. *cēnes*, gen. of *cēn*, which is the modern E. *keen*. But *Cēn* was used as a personal name. We may explain it by 'Keen's farm'; as Keen is a personal name still.

Pickshill; near Turvey.—Spelt *Pixhill* in Magna Britannia (1720); absurdly spelt *Pictshill* (!) in the Ordnance map. Spelt *Pikeshulle*, F.A., R.B. The prefix is the A.S. *Pīces*, gen. of *Pīc*, answering to the modern E. *Pike* as a surname. *Pīces* occurs in Thorpe, Diplomatarium, p. 617. Thus the sense is 'Pike's hill.'

Reach.—Heath and Reach form a parish. They lie to the N. of Leighton Buzzard. Reach in Cambs. was spelt *Reche* in 1279, H.R. It is the same word as the modern E. *reach*, in the sense of extension, extent, range, or stretch of country.

Rowney.—Rowney Warren is to the S.W. of Southill Park. Though the immediate district is not quite an island, it is much surrounded by water, having streams on both the north and south sides. It is spelt *Runheye* in C.R.; where *heye* is a frequent Norman spelling of the Mid. Eng. *eye*, an island, or a piece of land partially surrounded by water. The spelling *Rown-* shows that the *u* in *Run-* was long; and it probably represents the A.S. *rūwan* or *rūgan*, dat. of *rūh*, rough; an epithet that is remarkably common in place-names. Kemble's Index shows *rūwan cnol*, rough knoll, *rūwan hammas*, rough enclosures, *rūgan dīc*, rough dike, *rūgan hege*, rough hedge, *rūgan hlinc*, rough linch, *rūwan lēah* or *rūan lēah*, rough lea, etc. The usual sense of *rūh*, as regards land, is 'uncultivated.' Thus the sense of Rowney is 'uncultivated tract, nearly surrounded by water.' As is usual, it is in the dative case, which accounts for the *n*. A very striking instance of a similar use of *n* occurs in Newnham, where *Newn* is the dative of *New*.

Sextons; near Wilden.—Mr Airy rightly identifies it with *Segresdone* in D.B. This *Segresdone* represents an English perversion of the O. French and Norman *secrestein*, now spelt *sexton*, which was also used as a personal name. It means that it was once owned by a Norman named *Secrestein*.

Someries Farm; to the S.E. of Luton.—From the personal name *Somery*, spelt *Somery* and *Sumery* in F.A.; where we find mention of the surname *de Somery*, showing that *Somery* had previously been a place-name. *Somery* represents an A.S.

sumer īg, 'summer island.' Compare the place-names Somercotes, Somerford, and Somerton.

Sudbury; a manor of Eaton Socon.—Spelt *Subberie*, D.B.; *Suthbur'*, T.N. Literally, 'south bury.' Compare Sutton, *i.e.* 'south town.'

Thickthorn.—Mentioned in Magna Britannia (1720). Thickthorn Farm is to the N. of Houghton Conquest. The sense is obvious.

Thorn; in Houghton Regis (Kelly). The sense is obvious.

Tingrith; near Westoning and Harlington.—Spelt *Tingrei*, D.B.; *Tingrie*, F.A.; *Tingrye*, C.R., F.A.; *Tingri*, F.A., A.M.; *Tingrithe*, A.M.; *Tingeriz*, I.p.m. Here the Norman scribes usually dropped the final *th*, which they could not at first pronounce; one of them ingeniously substitutes the Norman *z*, which was sounded as *ts*. But the English spelling *Tingrithe* is right. The name presents difficulties. *Ting* is not an English word, but the Danish equivalent of A.S. *thing*, a place of meeting, a court. *Rithe* is the prov. E. *rithe*, A.S. *rīth*, masc., *rīthe*, fem., a small stream. The sense is 'stream where a meeting was (once) held.' *Ting* occurs again in Ting-ley Junction, in Yorkshire (Bradshaw), and in Ting-wall Kirk, near Lerwick, in the Shetland Isles. The traces of Danish in Beds. are very slight, but this is one of them.

Upbury, between Pulloxhill and Wrest Park.—Spelt *Upberry* in Magna Britannia (1720). *Up* means 'high up' or 'high.' And see Bury (p. 8).

Wrest Park.—Formerly Wrast; *Wraste hamlet* (1308), H.R.; *Wrast* (1307), Calendar of Patent Rolls, Edw. I. From *Wrast* as a personal name; A.S. *wrāst*, noble, excellent.

51. Remarks.

I add a few notes on some of the Norman spellings found in D.B. and in some of the other early records.

The vowel *e* has two or three values. It sometimes represents the A.S. *e*, as in *Dene*, Dean, for A.S. *denu*; sometimes the A.S. *y*, as in *Melebroc* for *mylenbrōc*; and sometimes even

the A.S. *ea*, as in *Celgrave* from A.S. *cealc*. In one instance it represents the A.S. long *æ*, as in *Meldone* for *Mældun*, Maldon.

The vowel *o* is frequently used for the A.S. *u*, especially before *n*; as in the numerous names in *-tone*, for A.S. *tūn*.

The chief peculiarities of Anglo-French spelling are enumerated at the end of my Notes on English Etymology, p. 471.

I here notice some examples, numbering the cases as they are numbered there:—

1. Norman scribes sometimes dropped initial *h*; hence *Ametelle* in D.B. for *Amet-helle*, Ampthill; *Clopelle* in D.B. for *Clop-helle*, Clophill; *Wadelle* in D.B. for *Wad-helle*, Odell.

2. They wrote *s* for *sh*; as in *Sernebroc*, Sharnbrook; *Sepford*, Shefford; sometimes even prefixing *E*, as in *Eseltone*, Shelton. In the middle of a word they wrote *ss*, as in *Bissopescot* for Bishopscot or Biscot.

5. They often dropped *w* before *o*; hence Wootton appears in D.B. as *Otone*.

9. *Ght* was a difficult sound for them, as it represented the A.S. *ht*. They sometimes wrote *st* for it; as in *Lestone* in D.B. for Leighton.

10. Final *ld* was difficult. Hence *Cranfelle* in D.B. for A.S. *Cranfeld*, Cranfield.

12. Final *nd* sometimes became *n*. Hence *Chicesane* in D.B. for Chicksand.

13. They substituted *n* for *ng*. Hence *Goldentone* in D.B. for Goldington.

14. For final *t* they sometimes wrote *th*, which did not represent the E. *th* (as in *heath*) but a strongly pronounced *t* followed by an aspirate or slight splutter. Hence *Sethlindone* in D.B. for Shitlington. This remarkable form has *S* for *Sh* (see 2); *e* for A.S. *y* (see above); *th* for *t*; *n* for *ng* (see 13); and *o* for A.S. *u* (see above).

We may also note the use of *che* for *ke*, and *ce* for *che*, as in modern Italian. Hence D.B. has *Pechesdone* for *Pekesdone*, Pegsdon; *Rochestone* for *Rokesdone*, Roxton; *Achelei* for

Akelei, Oakley; and conversely, *Celgrave* for *Chelgrave*, Chalgrave.

Conclusion.

The chief point to be noted as to the place-names of Bedfordshire is their thoroughly English character. Traces of foreign influence are indeed slight.

The only traces of Latin influence occur in Streatley, Stratton, and Market Street as another name for Markyate. The words *mill* and *wick* are also ultimately of Latin origin; and the word *bishop* (in Biscott) is Greek. Of Celtic (exclusive of names applied to rivers) the only traces occur in Tempsford (from the river-name Thames); in Campton (if from the river-name Camel); in Luton, if the name of the Lea is of Celtic origin; and perhaps in the prefix of Gravenhurst. The word *down*, whence the suffix *-don*, was originally Celtic.

Of Scandinavian, the traces are likewise extremely slight. The most noticeable are the prefixes in Boln-hurst, Carl-ton, and Ting-rith; and the name Holme.

Of the times when the Saxons were still heathens, there seem to be traces in Sundon and Thurleigh: and certainly in Harrowden.

To the Normans we probably owe the original form of the prefixes in Meppershall, Moggerhanger and Stagsden; and the name of Sextons. Of Norman families there are several traces, as in the names of Eaton Bray, Houghton Conquest, Higham Gobion, Leighton Buzzard, Marston Morteyne, Milton Bryant, Milton Ernest, and Cockayne Hatley.

But nearly all the rest of the names are wholly English in regard of speech; and the speech, like that of Hunts., was that of the early Mercian Angles. And Bedfordshire is likewise certainly to be included among the counties which have helped to form the standard literary language of the British Empire and of the United States of America.

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THE PLACE-NAMES

OF

CAMBRIDGESHIRE

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No. XXXVI

THE PLACE-NAMES

OF

CAMBRIDGESHIRE

262 PR

BY THE

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THE PLACE-NAMES OF CAMBRIDGESHIRE

[The first edition of this work was printed in 1901. It is now reprinted, with a few corrections and additions.]

§ 1. Prefatory Remarks.

In attempting to deal with some of the principal place-names in Cambridgeshire, with a view to obtaining some light upon their etymologies, I find myself at a disadvantage in one respect, but in another to have some hopes of partial success. The disadvantage is, that I have made no wide or extended study of English place-names in general; and it is obvious that, in many an instance, one place-name is likely to throw light upon another, though the places may be in different counties. On the other hand, I have had much experience in tracing the etymologies of most of the main words that occur in our English Dictionaries; and the phonetic laws that regulate place-names are precisely the same as those that regulate other native words that are in common use.

Perhaps there is no subject of study that is, generally speaking, in so neglected a state. The wild and ignorant guess-work of the eighteenth century, and even of the nineteenth, has filled our books of antiquities and our county histories with many misleading theories; and the results of these unconscionable inventions have not unfrequently found their way even into the ordnance-maps. However, the principles of phonetics are beginning to make progress. It is now recognised that, if it is necessary to look to our spellings, it is still more necessary to know what those spellings mean, and not to talk

at random about words until we have at least learnt how to *pronounce* them. For it is, after all, the spoken word that matters; the spellings are merely symbols and guides, and will only guide those who understand them.

It is only of late years that the phonetic laws which govern the gradations and mutations of Anglo-Saxon words have been intelligently investigated; and hence it is that it is quite impossible for such as know nothing about such laws to realise their intricacy, and the certainty with which, in the hands of the student, they point to the original sounds. And there is yet another matter which is of vast importance and has nevertheless received far too little attention; viz. the now well ascertained fact that many of our spellings are Norman or Anglo-French, and cannot be interpreted even by the student of Anglo-Saxon until he has further realised what such symbols mean. I beg leave to say that this is a point which I have carefully studied; and I had in the press, in 1901, a fairly complete statement of the 16 Canons whereby the spelling of a Norman scribe is distinguished from that of a Saxon one[1]. Many of those who have hitherto investigated the spellings of Domesday Book have sometimes, I fear, been in almost complete ignorance of the sounds which such spellings denote. Whilst I offer these remarks by way of showing that I have considered the matter seriously, and have avoided frivolous guesses, I by no means suppose that all the results here obtained are final. Some are obvious; others are reasonably certain; but some are doubtful. Which these are, I shall usually endeavour to indicate, by the introduction of such words as 'probably' and 'possibly,' and the like.

I wish to express my sincere thanks for help received. I do not think I should have undertaken the present task but for the kindness of Mr C. Sayle and Mr J. E. Foster. Mr Sayle supplied me with the alphabetical list of the principal place-names in the county, nearly all of which are here considered; whilst Mr J. E. Foster did me inestimable service by ascertaining the old spellings of our place-names as they are given in

[1] See the "Observations" at pp. 471–5 of my Notes on English Etymology; Oxford, 1901.

the Red Book of the Exchequer, the Ely Registers, the Feudal Aids, the Pipe Rolls, and the like, supplying in every case the exact reference, and (wherever it was possible) the exact date. Only the philologist wholly realises the helpfulness of such *data*; and it is sufficient to say that, without such material, the work could not have been undertaken at all. I shall frequently give the dates of various spellings below; but I wish it to be understood that, in every case, the exact reference is known, and the evidence can always be produced. When, for example, I say that Chesterton is spelt *Cestretone* in 1210 and in 1130, it is meant that Mr Foster has found that spelling under the date 1210–12, in the Red Book of the Exchequer (Rolls Series), p. 529, and under the date 1130–1 in the Pipe Roll.

I am also much indebted for many hints and corrections to Mr W. H. Stevenson, Fellow of Exeter College, Oxford; but it will be understood that he is in no way responsible for the results here given.

The chief authorities which I have myself consulted are not many. I may instance the very valuable work entitled Inquisitio Comitatus Cantabrigiensis, ed. N.E.S.A. Hamilton (London, 1876), which is practically the *original* of the Domesday Book as far as relates to Cambridgeshire, with the Inquisitio Eliensis appended; the Domesday Book for Cambridgeshire; the Ramsey Chronicle and the Ramsey Chartulary (in the Rolls Series); the printed charters as edited by Kemble, Thorpe, Earle, and Birch; Sweet's Oldest English Texts and his History of English Sounds; the New English Dictionary and the English Dialect Dictionary; the Anglo-Saxon Dictionary by Bosworth and Toller; and other helpful books of a like character. For the spelling of Anglo-Saxon names, I have depended on Kemble's Index of place-names in his sixth volume, and Searle's Onomasticon Anglo-Saxonicum. I have also obtained various useful information from Miller and Skertchly's book entitled The Fenland Past and Present, from a History of Cambridgeshire dated 1851, and from the more recent History of Cambridgeshire by Conybeare.

The result of a study of English place-names can hardly prove to be other than extremely disappointing, especially to

the sanguine and the imaginative. Speaking generally, we can only satisfy our curiosity to a very limited extent; and we have borne in upon us the fact, which any reflecting mind might have anticipated, that names were conferred upon places quite casually, for the sake of convenience, and for very trivial reasons; precisely as they are conferred now. This is easily illustrated by the following list of *modern* names, compiled from the Ordnance map of Cambridgeshire. I find there Chalk Farm, Cold Harbour Farm, Crick's Farm, Cuckoo Farm, Grove Farm, High Bridge Farm, Hill Farm, Lower Farm, Manor Farm, New Farm, Oldfield Farm, Scotland Farm, Shardelow's Farm, West Fen Farm, Woodhouse Farm, and many more; Fox Hill, Honey Hill, Thorn Hill, White Cross Hill; Duck End, Frog End, Green End, South End; Black Hall, Gunner's Hall, Nether Hall, Poplar Hall, Spring Hall, White Hall, Wood Hall; Quail's Lodge, Worsted Lodge; Baits Bite, Brookfield, Friesland, King's Hedges, Lamb's Cross, The Poplars, Wrangling Corner; and so forth. These afford an indication of the character of the names we may expect to find, though perhaps our older names are, on the whole, a trifle more dignified, as being more descriptive. Yet the truth is that they are usually more prosaic than poetical.

Most of the names considered below are arranged in groups, as this is by far the best way of considering them. The most frequent endings refer to settlements, as *-ton* (for *town*), *-ham*, *-stead*, *-worth*, *-wick*, and *-cote*; we also find *-bridge*, *-hithe*, *-low*, *-well*, and others of a like kind, referring to things artificial; whilst another set refers to things natural, such as *-den*, *-don* (for *down*), *-ey* (island), *-field*, *-ford*, *-mere*, *-pool*, and the like. The most typical are such as end in *-ton* or *-ington*. Those in *-ton* are often preceded by the name of the first occupier or builder of the *town* or farm; whilst those in *-ing-ton* refer to a cluster of houses which formed the settlement of a tribe. The name of the first settler or tribe of settlers is invariably that of some man or family of whom nothing further is known; and I suppose that when we meet in modern times with names of the same character, such as Crick's Farm, Gunner's Hall, or Shardelow's Farm, we do not usually care to

enquire into the antecedents of Mr Crick, or Mr Gunner, or Mr Shardelow; and it might easily happen that, even if we did so, we should not reap any great advantage from it, even if we were successful. We must leave the result as we find it, and be thankful that we have learnt what the names mean.

Abbreviations, etc.

The following is a list of the more important sources of old names, with some abbreviations:

Cat. A.D.—Catalogue of Ancient Deeds (Record Series).
D.B.—Domesday Book (part relating to Cambridgeshire).
E.D.D.—English Dialect Dictionary.
E.R.—Ely Registers (in the Ely Diocesan Remembrancer).
F.A.—Feudal Aids (Record Series); vol. i.
Hundred Rolls.—Rotuli Hundredorum; vols. i. and ii. Those in vol. ii are dated 1279.
I.C.C.—Inquisitio Comitatus Cantabrigiensis; and Inquisitio Eliensis; ed. N.E.S.A. Hamilton; 1876.
Index to the Rolls and Charters in the British Museum, ed. H. J. Ellis and F. B. Bickley (1900).
In. p. m.—Calendarium Inquisitionum post Mortem sive Escaetarum; ed. J. Caley; vol. i. (Record Series).
N.E.D.—New English Dictionary (Oxford).
P.F.—Pedes Finium; ed. Walter Rye.
P.R.—Pipe Roll, 1189–1190; and Rolls of the Pipe, 1155–1158; ed. Rev. Joseph Hunter.
R.B.—Red Book of the Exchequer; ed. W. D. Selby. (Rolls Series.)
R.C.—Ramsey Chartulary, ed. W. H. Hart; 3 vols. (The third vol. has a full index.)
R. Chron.—Ramsey Chronicle, ed. Rev. W. D. Macray. (Rolls Series.)

§ 2. The Suffix -ton.

The chief places in Cambs. ending with the suffix *-ton* (not preceded by *-ing*) are as follows: Barton, Carlton, Caxton, Cherry Hinton, Chesterton, Clopton, Comberton, Coton, Croxton, Ditton, Drayton, Foxton, Girton, Harlton, Harston, Hauxton, Hinxton, Histon, Kingston, Linton, Long Stanton, Malton, Milton, Newton, Rampton, Royston, Saxton, Sutton, Weston,

Wilburton. I omit Ickleton and Sawston intentionally, for reasons which will be given in due time; cf. p. 18.

It is well known that the suffix *-ton* is merely the unemphatic form of the familiar English word *town*, of which the original sense was "enclosure." It usually signified a collection of dwellings, or, as in Scotland at this day, a solitary farmhouse. Perhaps the nearest modern equivalent is "homestead"; without any necessary restriction to a homestead belonging to a single owner, although this signification is certainly included.

Barton. This is the prov. E. *barton*, a farm-yard; for which see the English Dialect Dictionary. It is the A.S. *bere-tūn*, lit. corn-farm, or barley-enclosure; from *bere*, barley, and *tūn*. Thus the syllable *Bar-* is in this instance the same as the *bar-* in *barley*; see the New English Dictionary.

Carlton. Written *Carleton* in 1302 (F.A. i. 142), *Carlentone* in Domesday. Here *Carl* is the Scandinavian equivalent of the A.S. *ceorl*, whence E. *churl* and the place-name Charlton. *Carl* frequently occurs as a man's name, and is, in fact, the origin of the modern E. *Charles*. The Old Norse *karl* also signifies a man, a male, a household servant, a husbandman; see *Carl* in the N.E.D. (New English Dictionary). Its combining form is *karla-*; so that Carlton answers to an Icelandic form *Karlatūn*. Cf. *Carlatūn* in Kemble, Cod. Dipl. iv. 288; also *Carletūn* (Carlton, Cambs.) in the same, iv. 300.

Caxton is spelt as at present in rather early times; as, e.g., in 1245 (In. p. m., p. 3). There is a place named *Cawston* in Norfolk, which is merely another form of the same name. This we know from the fact that the famous printer is not unfrequently called *Causton*; see the Dict. of Nat. Biography. And this is why we find *Caustone* in Domesday Book instead of Caxton. The prefix *Caus-* is mysterious; and I only make a guess when suggesting that it may just possibly represent an A.S. form *Cages*, gen. case from a nom. *Cah*. That there was such a name as *Cah* may be inferred from the patronymic *Cahing*, whence the place-name *Cahing-læg*, in Kemble, Cod.

Dipl. ii. 137, l. 9; compare also *Cagbrōc* in the same, iii. 413. The closely related name *Ceahha* occurs in *Ceahhan mere*, id. iii. 48, l. 26. A genitival form *Cahes*[1], combined with *tūn*, would give in Mid. Eng. a form *Cagheston*, or (by contraction) *Cagh'ston*; and the *ghs* might develop an *x*, as in the case of the E. *hox* from A.S. *hōh-sinu*; see *Hox* in the New. Eng. Dictionary, and compare the use of *hock* as a variant of *hough* (see the same). *Cah* is an Old Mercian form, as distinguished from the Wessex *Ceah*, with a broken vowel. This explanation is, however, mere guesswork.

Cherry Hinton. The prefix *cherry*, having reference to cherry-trees, is comparatively modern. The place-name Hinton occurs in many parts of England, and is spelt *Hintone* in Domesday Book, suggesting the A.S. *hind*, a hind, female deer. Had the prefix been *Hine-*, it would answer to the A.S. *hīna*, as seen in *Hīna-gemǣro*, *Hīna-hege*, *Hīna-mearc*, place-names given in Kemble's Index; where *hīna* is the genitive of *hīwan*, a plural sb. meaning "domestic servants," allied to the modern E. *hind*, a servant, especially an agricultural labourer; see N.E.D. The result is uncertain; but I now strongly incline to this latter opinion, as I find that Hinton in Dorsets. was formerly spelt *Hineton*; In. p. m., p. 20, and *Hyneton*, id., p. 304.

Chesterton is spelt *Cestretone* in 1210 (R.B.), in 1130 (P.R.), and in Domesday Book. The corresponding A.S. form is *ceaster-tūn*, where *ceaster* is merely the Wessex form representing the Lat. *castra*, a camp. The A.S. *ceaster* was feminine; because the form *castra*, ending in *-a*, sounded like a fem. sing., though really a neut. pl.

Clopton or Clapton, in the parish now called Croydon-cum-Clapton, is spelt *Cloptone* in 1210 (R.B.), and *Cloptune* in D.B.; but *Clopetuna* in I.C.C., with reference to Clopton in Suffolk. The prefix is the same as in Clapton and Clapham. This is ascertained from a genuine charter of the time of Ælfred in which Clapham (in Surrey) appears as Cloppa-hām;

[1] Perhaps Mercian; cf. *bǣha* for *bēaga* in a Suffolk charter; Kemble, Cod. Dipl. iii. 273, l. 13.

see Sweet, Early English Texts, p. 451. *Cloppa* looks like a genitive plural of a form **clop*; cf. *clop-œcer, clop-hyrst,* in Birch, iii. 589, 590. Cf. Clapham, Beds.; formerly Clopham.

Comberton. Here the *o* is the regular later Anglo-French substitute for an earlier *u*; it is spelt *Cumbertone* in 1155 (R.B.) and in Domesday Book. The spelling *Cumbretone,* occurring in 1210 (R.B.), is somewhat preferable. The prefix *Cumber-* or *Cumbre-* represents A.S. *Cumbran,* genitive of *Cumbra,* a personal name; see Searle, Onomasticon, p. 146. The genitive *Cumbran-* is clearly seen in the place-name *Cumbran-weorð* (lit. Comber-worth); see Earle, A.S. Charters, p. 447, l. 4. Kemble has the acc. pl. *Cumbras* with the sense of 'Welshmen'; Cod. Dipl. iii. 59. It means "Cumbra's town."

Coton. In this case, the modern pronunciation suggests a derivation from *cote* and *-ton,* where *cote* is another form of *cot.* But it is highly probable that we have here (as often) an instance of a name expressed in the dative case; see the account of Newnham (below). If so, *Coton* really represents the A.S. *cotum,* dative pl. of *cot,* a cottage; and the true sense is "cottages," the prep. *æt* (at the) being understood. Cf. Coates and Cottenham. *Coton* occurs as a place-name in 1296 (In. p. m., p. 129), and *Cotun* in 1272 (the same, p. 39); cf. *Cotum* in Kemble, Cod. Dipl. iv. 288. This etymology is certified by the fact that (as Lysons notes) another name for Coton was formerly *Cotes. Cotes,* as mentioned in 1211 (R.B.) and in 1284 (F.A. i. 137) appears to refer to Coton; so also *Cotes* in 1291 (Taxatio Ecclesiastica).

Of the two A.S. forms meaning "cot," *cot* is neuter, and the nom. plural is *cotu*; whilst *cote* is feminine, and the nom. plural is *cotan.* Of *cotan* a later form is *coten,* but it did not last long. The M.E. plurals in *-en* were early replaced by plurals in *-es,* so that the plural was already *cotes* in Wycliffe and Langland. This form is actually preserved in the Cambs. place-name *Coates* (near Whittlesey), and elsewhere (p. 28).

Croxton. Spelt *Croxtone* in 1302 (F.A., p. 149); *Crokestone* in the Red Book; *Crochestone* in Domesday Book. There

is also a Croxton in Norfolk, spelt *Crokeston* in 1303 (In. p. m., p. 180), and *Crochestune* in a late charter; Kemble, Cod. Dipl. iv. 245. *Crokes* is a late spelling of A.S. *Croces*, gen. case of *Croc*, a personal name of which Mr Searle gives three examples. It means "Croc's town."

DITTON, better known as Fen Ditton, occurs in at least four other counties. In I.C.C., p. 101, we find *Dictune* in one MS., but *Dittune* in another; and again, in a late copy of a will, the dative case *dictunæ*, also written *dictune*; Kemble, Codex Diplom. iii. 272, l. 6; 274, l. 17. Ditton is, in fact, the A.S. *dīctūn*, lit. "dike-town"; the *ct* passed into *tt* by assimilation, precisely as the Lat. *dictum* became *detto* in Italian.

DRAYTON was spelt as now as early as 1210 (R.B.). Domesday has *Draitone*. Various old Charters have *Dreyton* and *Drayton*; but they are all spurious or of late date, as the spelling shows. The earliest spelling is *Drægtun*, as in Kemble, Codex Diplom. vi. 139. The history of the A.S. *dræg*, also found as *ge-dræg*, is not quite clear; but it probably signified 'a drawing together,' and hence, a small band of men. Another sense of the modern E. *dray*, in provincial English, is "a squirrel's nest"; and the familiar "brewer's dray" is the same word[1]. See *gedræg* in Bosworth and Toller, and *dray* in N.E.D. and E.D.D. (English Dialect Dictionary). A probable sense seems to be "a place of shelter," or "retreat." Cf. *dræg-hēma*, gen. pl., in Kemble, Cod. Dipl. iv. 19, l. 22.

FOXTON, spelt *Foxetune* in Domesday Book, requires no explanation.

GIRTON. Spelt *Gyrttone* and *Grettone* in 1434; Annales Monast. S. Albani, ii. 99, 101. In all older spellings of Girton, from the fourteenth century backwards, the *r* immediately follows the *G*. In 1316 (F.A., p. 152), we find *Grettone*; in 1270 (In. p. m., p. 33) *Gretton*; in 1236 (R.B.)

[1] See N.E.D., s.v. *Draw*, 3 c. 'We shall say that hawkys doon *draw* when they bere tymbering to their nestes, and nott they *beld* [build] ne *make* ther nestys'; Book of St Alban's, fol. Aij.

Greittone; in Domesday Book *Gretone*. In a charter dated 1060, we find the spelling *Gretton*; Kemble, Codex Diplom. iv. 145, l. 23; but the charter is certainly not of the date assigned to it, as is proved by the comparatively late spellings of the English words cited at p. 147. We clearly have to deal with the same place-name as that which is elsewhere spelt *Gretton*; there are, in fact, two places still so called, one in Gloucestershire and one in Northamptonshire[1]. Two solutions are possible; one, that *gret-ton* is equivalent to *great-ton*, i.e. "a large homestead," quite different from what would now be understood by *a great town*; and in this connexion it is worth observing that England contains at least six places named *Littleton*. The other and far more probable solution is that *gretton* is the same word as the prov. E. *gratton*, which Bailey explains as "grass which comes after mowing, stubble, ersh, or eddish," though it means, more strictly, the enclosure where such grass grows. The E.D.D. treats this word fully; and to this the reader is referred. And compare *Gratten* in the N.E.D.

It is worth notice that *Gretton* is the true Mercian form. *Gratton* is the Southern form, from A.S. *grād*, grass, with the addition of *tūn*. But the Mercian form of this word was *grēd*, which would give *Gredton* or *Gretton*, regularly.

Harlton. The spelling *Harleton* occurs in 1339 (Ely Registers). As *ar* usually answers to an earlier *er*, we may here see an A.S. name due to a name-prefix beginning with *Herl-*. Hence it is that I.C.C. has both *Harletona* and *Herletona*. The prefix *Herle-* represents a late pet-name *Herla* (gen. *Herlan*), probably short for **Herela*, and formed from a name beginning with *Here-*, probably *Here-wulf*. (Distinct from *Herl-* for *Erl*, *Eorl*, in which the *H* is inorganic.)

Harston. The spelling *Hardlestone* occurs in 1316 (F.A., 154), *Hardlistone* in 1298 (In. p. m., p. 147), and *Hardeleston* in 1291 (Taxatio Ecclesiastica). The first part of the name

[1] The place in Nhants. is spelt *Gretton* in the Chronicle of Ramsey Abbey. The *Gretton* in Kemble, Cod. Dipl. iv. 145, seems to be Girton.

represents the genitive case of the A.S. name of the original owner; but what was the exact form of that name the evidence is hardly sufficient to show. A highly probable form of the name is *Hardulf*, a later form of *Heardwulf*.

HAUXTON. Spelt *Haukestone* in 1316 (F.A. 154). The earlier spelling is *Hauekestune*, in a charter of Edward the Confessor; Kemble, Cod. Dipl. iv. 245; which appears in Domesday Book as *Havochestun*. *Hauek* is a later spelling of the A.S. *hafoc*, a hawk, probably used as a man's name; as to which Toller remarks that it is found in many names of places. Compare Hawkesbury, Hawksdale, Hawksdown, Hawkshead, and Hawksworth. It means "Hafoc's town."

HINXTON. The spelling *Hyngeston* occurs in the Ely Registers in 1341; *Hengeston* in 1277, in In. p. m., p. 61; and *Hengestone* in the Ramsey Chartulary. It is certainly a contraction of *Hengestestūn*, the town of Hengest; as there are several other places which present similar forms. A clear case is that of *Hengestes-īg*, now called *Hinksey*, in Berkshire. Hengest is a famous name; the literal sense is 'stallion.' I find the spelling *Henxton* in 1291 (Taxatio Ecclesiastica, p. 267). It means "Hengest's town."

HISTON. Spelt *Histone* in 1284 (F.A. 138); *Hestona* in the Pipe Roll (1165). But it seems to be a contracted form; for D.B. has both *Histone* and *Histetone*; and I.C.C. has *Hestitona*. In the Inquisitio Eliensis (I.C.C., p. 99), a certain man is called Lemarais de Haustitona (v.r. Lemma de Hincstitona), who is elsewhere (p. 38) called Lemar*us* de Hestitona. I do not understand whether this means that the place was confused with Hinxton; or whether we may connect *Hesti-* with *Hæsta*, a name which is suggested by *Hæstan-dīc* in Kemble, Cod. Dipl. iii. 209, l. 5. There is a Heston in Middlesex.

ICKLETON. As the old spelling was *Iceling-tūn*, the true suffix was *-ing-ton*. Hence this name will be considered amongst the next set; see p. 18.

KINGSTON. Spelt *Kingestone* in 1210 (R.B.); where *kinges* is the genitive of *king*, late spelling of *cyning*, a king. Domesday Book has *Chingestone*, where the *chi-* represents *ki-*, as in other instances. The correct old spelling *Cyninges-tūn* occurs in Kemble, Cod. Dipl. i. 318, l. 3, with reference to Kingston in Surrey. It means "king's farm."

LINTON. This corresponds to the form *Lin-tūn* in Kemble, Cod. Dipl. iii. 368. *Lin-* may very well be the same as *lin-* in *lin-seed*, representing the A.S. *līn*, early borrowed from Lat. *līnum*, flax. If so, the sense is "flax-enclosure." Any allusion to the Welsh *llyn*, a lake, is highly improbable. On the other hand, allusion to the A.S. *lind*, a lime-tree, is just possible. But the A.S. *lēah-tūn*, *wyrt-tūn*, both with the sense of 'garden,' show that such a compound as *līn-tun* is what we should most expect. In fact, we find *līn-land* with the same sense; Kemble, Cod. Dipl. iii. 400, l. 5.

LONG STANTON. Stanton is the A.S. *stān-tūn*, lit. "stone-enclosure"; and is very common. The Latinised prefix *longa* occurs as early as 1302 (F.A. 148).

MALTON. There is a Malton Farm at Orwell, of which the older spelling is *Malketon*. This form occurs as early as 1279 (Hund. Rolls), and as late as in Fuller's Worthies of England. I also find *Makelton* in 1282 (In. p. m.). I can throw no light on these singular forms. Compare Macclesfield, Melksham, and perhaps *Mealcing* in Kemble, Cod. Dipl. iii. 416.

MILTON. The derivation of *Milton* would seem to be obvious, viz. from *mill* and *town*. But we have the clearest evidence that the old form was really *Middleton*, as it appears in Domesday Book, and in numerous charters, &c., down to the time of Fuller. It is a very common name; there are more than 20 Middletons in various parts of England. In the case of our Middleton, the reference may be to its position between Cambridge and Waterbeach, on the way to Ely. It appears as *Mideltūn* in a late charter; Kemble, Cod. Dipl. iv. 245.

NEWTON. Mentioned in 1302 (F.A. 141); and in a late charter in Kemble, Cod. Dipl. iv. 245, with the spelling *Neutun*. No explanation is needed.

RAMPTON. Spelt *Ramptone* in 1210 (R.B.). The spelling in Domesday Book is *Rantone*, which is merely a French travesty of the word, and does not much help us; but I.C.C. has *Ramtune*. These forms suggest that the *p* is an inserted letter, due to the strong emphasis on the final *mm* of the A.S. *ramm*, a ram. As to the name, compare Foxton, and especially the three Sheptons and ten Shiptons, usually meaning "sheep-town." *Ram* is quoted by Sir H. Ellis as a personal name; but if this were intended, we should expect the modern form to be Ramston. It means "ram farm."

ROYSTON. Spelt *Roystone* in 1428 (F.A. 189). This is one of the places of later origin, in which the prefix is Norman, as shown by the occurrence of the diphthong *oy*. The story has been recorded by Dugdale (Monast. Anglic. tom. 2, p. 264) and Tanner (Notitia Monastica); whence it appears that a certain Lady Roese set up a wayside cross at a certain spot, which obtained the name of *Crux Roesiæ* in Latin, and *Cruceroys* in Norman; see the index to the Ramsey Chartulary; also spelt *Cruce Reys* in 1292 (In. p. m., p. 111), and *Croyrois* in 1263 (the same, p. 25). At a later date, in the time of Henry II, Eustace de Merc founded a priory of Black Canons, near the same spot. A small town soon grew up near the priory, and obtained the name of *Roese-town* from its proximity to the cross of the Lady Roese. The *Crux Roesie* is referred to in 1316, in Feudal Aids (Record Series), i. 156, and later. Roese, otherwise Roise, Reise, or Rohaise is a feminine name, of which Miss Yonge, in her History of Christian Names, p. 204, gives two wild etymologies. It is more to the point that she gives two examples. "Rohais [Rohaise?] wife of Gilbert de Gaunt, died in 1156; and Roese de Lucy was wife of Fulbert de Dover, in the time of Henry II." *Royse* occurs as a surname in the Clergy List; and the Latinised form *Rohesia* is in the Ingoldsby

Legends. It represents (says Mr Stevenson) a continental Saxon name beginning with *Hrōth-*; possibly *Hrōthswīð*.

Saxton, Saxon Street. Saxton is now absorbed in the parish of Wood Ditton, in which there is a considerable hamlet still called Saxon Street. *Saxtone* occurs in 1284 (Feudal Aids, i. 139), and *Sextone* in Domesday Book; probably from O. Merc. *Saxan-tūn*, Saxa's enclosure, though this should rather have been represented in D.B. by *Sexetone*. The old name of the *street* may likewise have been *Saxan-strāt*, the form *Saxan* being preserved by association with *Saxon*.

Sutton. In Domesday Book, *Sudtone*: A.S. *Sūðtūn*, lit. "south town." I may note here that the four points of the compass are often represented by names in *-ton* in various counties; as in Norton, Sutton, Easton, and Weston.

Weston Colville. I.e. "west town," as noted above. The place is quite close to West Wratting, with the same prefix. *Colville* is a family name of Norman origin. In In. p. m., p. 61, it is stated that Walter de Colevill held the manor of Weston in 1278, in the time of Edward I. The index to the Ramsey Chartulary mentions a Colville who was sheriff of Huntingdon.

Wilburton. The oldest spelling is *Wilburhtūn*; Kemble, Cod. Dipl. vi. 98, l. 5. The prefix is *Wilburh*, remarkable as being a feminine name only. The same prefix appears in Wilbraham, as shown at p. 24. A more correct form would be *Wilburgetūn*, where *Wilburge* is the gen. case of *Wilburh*, as in *Wilburge-hām*. It means "Wilburh's farm."

§ 3. The suffix -ington.

The next set of names includes those that end in *-ington*; which must be divided into two classes. The former is that in which the form *-ing* is original; the latter, that in which it has been substituted for some other prefix. The distinction is one that involves some difficulties; so that the results are,

to a slight extent, uncertain. As to this point, see Kemble's Saxons in England, i. 60, and the note; and the list of names containing *-ing* at p. 456 of the same volume. I have grave doubts as to the originality of *-ing* in Abington and Barrington; and even in Conington the sense is doubtful; so that these names will be considered separately.

ARRINGTON. Of this name there are two spellings. On the one hand, we find *Aringtun* in 1270 (In. p. m., p. 33), and in 1284 (F.A. 137). But the real name must have been Arnington, since we frequently find that form, not only in 1302 (F.A. 146), but in D.B. and I.C.C., p. 110, where the form is *Erningetone*, described as being in "Wederlai" hundred, and also spelt *Ærningetune*. It was *Arnington* in 1307 (In. p. m.). This is clearly right, and the prefix is the same as in Arningford; i.e. it means "the settlement of the sons of Ærn or Earn"; where *earn* (*ærn*) originally meant "eagle." It evidently became Arrington by association with Barrington, which is not far off.

DODDINGTON. Spelt *Dodyngtone* in 1302, in Feudal Aids, i. 151; but *Dodinton* in Domesday Book, with *in* for *ing*. There are many traces of the *Doddings*, as there are five other Doddingtons, and a Doddinghurst in Essex. Hence Doddington is the "town of Doddings"; and the Doddings were the sons of *Dodda*, an A.S. name of which we have more than a dozen examples.

IMPINGTON. Some of the early spellings omit the *ng*; thus we find *Impetone* in 1302 (F.A. 148). Other spellings, all of them Norman, have only *n* for *ng*; as *Impyntone* in 1316 (F.A. 153); *Empintone* in 1210 (R.B.). Domesday Book has *Epintone*, obviously an error for *Empintone*, as above; cf. *Empintona* in I.C.C. p. 174. A late copy of a charter has *Impintun*; Kemble, Cod. Dipl. iv. 245. The change from *em* to *im* is not uncommon, whilst the change from *en* to *in* occurs several times; thus *linbeck* is a later form of *alembic*, and *think* is from A.S. *thencan*. Hence the change from *Emp-* to *Imp-* is regular, and we learn that *Emp-* is the

older form. In this way, we arrive, at any rate, at a form *Empintun*. We could not be quite sure that the *nt* is a Norman way of writing *ngt* (as is very frequently the case) but for the fortunate circumstance that the original *Emping-* is perfectly preserved in the name of Empingham in Rutlandshire; from which Kemble correctly inferred that the *Empingas* were an Old English tribe. See Kemble's Saxons in England, i. 463. Hence Impington certainly means "town of the Empings." The name *Empa* is recorded in Kemble, Cod. Dipl. iii. 440; though the MS. is late and of slight authority. There is a mention of Thomas de Normanvile, dominus de Empingham, in the Chronicon Petroburgense (Camden Society), p. 74.

Leverington. We find *Liverington* in 1285 (Cat. A.D., vol. ii.); *Leveryngtone* in 1302 (F.A. 151); and *Leverington* in 1293 (In. p. m.). The probability that *Levering* represents a tribal name is suggested by the existence of two *Levertons* (without the *-ing*) in Notts. and Lincolnshire. The index to Kemble has *Lēofēres-haga*, i.e. "Lever's haw"; where *Lēofere* represents the A.S. *Leof-here*, an A.S. personal name. The sense is "town of the sons of Lēofhere."

Litlington. The spelling in Domesday Book is *Lidlintone*, but later authorities have *Lytlyngtone*, *Litlyngtone* (F.A. 150, 189), and the like. I.C.C. has *Lidlingtone*, *Litlingtona*; and there is a Lidlington in Beds., which was formerly Litlington. Another spelling is *Lutlingtone*, in 1316 (F.A. 156). As the Mid. Eng. *i*, *y*, and *u* all occasionally represent an A.S. *y*, we see that the A.S. form was *Lytlinga-tūn*, i.e. "farm of the Lytlings"; from the A.S. *lytel*, "little." See Place-names of Beds. (1906), p. 58.

Oakington. This place has lost an initial H, which appears in all the older spellings; thus we find *Hokingtone* in 1284 (F.A. 138), and *Hochintone* in Domesday Book; I.C.C. has *Hokintona*. It is spelt *Hokington* in Fuller's Worthies. The sense is "town of the Hocings." *Hocing* is a tribal name,

from the personal name *Hoc* or *Hoca*. The genitive of *Hoc* occurs in *Hoces byrgels*; and that of *Hoca* in *Hocan edisc*; both in Kemble's Index. *Hoc* occurs in Bēowulf; and the *Hocings* are mentioned in the very old A.S. poem named The Traveller. The *o* is usually marked as long, which would come out as *Hook* in modern English. In order to produce the modern *Oakington*, the vowel must have been shortened at an early date, and afterwards again lengthened in the usual way. Such processes are not uncommon; and we may particularly note the curious forms *Hoggitone*, found in 1284 (F.A. 137); and *Hocchintona*, *Hockingtona* (as well as *Hokintona*) in I.C.C.

Trumpington. Well known from its mention by Chaucer, in the first line of the Reves Tale, where the Ellesmere MS. has the spelling *Trumpyngton*. The form *Trumpington* occurs in 1270 (In. p. m., p. 33); though the Norman scribes of the thirteenth century usually give it as *Trumpintone*, with a vicious reduction of *ng* to *n*, as is their usual habit. It even occurs as *Trumpintūn* in a late copy of an A.S. Charter; Kemble, Cod. Dipl. iv. 245. The history of the name is unknown; but we may fairly assume, with Kemble, the existence of a tribe of *Trumpingas* or Trumpings.

Wimblington. This is a place of small importance, near to Doddington. Mr Foster notes that, in the account of the monastery of Ely in Dugdale's Monasticon, there is a schedule of the properties belonging to it in 30 Henry VIII (vol. i. p. 493). Amongst these appears Doddington, and Wimblington appears as *Willmington* and *Wymelyngton*.

Of these forms, the older is *Wilmington*, which suffered metathesis and so became *Wimlington* or *Wimelington*, and afterwards *Wimblington*, with an inserted *b*. Mr Stevenson finds *Wilmyngton* (in company with Doddington) in 1387 (Cal. Pat. Roll, p. 298). It is of the same origin as Wilmington (Devon), and represents **Wil(h)elminga-tūn*, "town of the Wilhelmings," from the personal name *Wilhelm* (William).

Ickleton. Amongst the names in *-ington* we must include also Ickleton. All the early spellings give various forms of *Iklyngton*, or (in 1210) *Iclintone* (R.B.). Domesday Book has *Inchelintone* and *Hichelintone*, where *che* is equivalent to *ke*. The A.S. form is *Iceling-tūn*, "town of the Icelings," for which see Ælfhelm's Will; in Birch, Cart. Saxon. iii. 630, l. 24. *Iceling* is regularly formed from the A.S. personal name *Icel*, which occurs in the A.S. Chronicle, under the date 626; where we are told that *Cnebba* was *Iceling*, or the son of *Icel*, and *Icel* was *Eomæring*, or the son of *Eomær*. In the Life of Gūthlāc, we are told that the *Iclingas* were a Mercian family to which Gūthlāc belonged; see Bosworth's Dict., p. 585. There is an *Icklingham* in Suffolk; and it is a remarkable fact that the name of *Ickleford* in Herts. is also a contraction of *Icklingford*, as may be seen by consulting the index to the Ramsey Chartulary[1]. None of these names can by any possibility be connected, as is often gratuitously assumed, with the *Icenhild* in *Icenhilde wey* (Ichenhild-way). The reason why the *k*-sound was preserved in *Iceling* instead of its being turned into *Icheling* is simply that the *e* dropped out by contraction, giving *Icling* (as noted above).

Sawston. This also is proved, by the old spellings, to have originated from a tribal name. It was originally a word of four syllables. In 1284 we find *Sausitone* (F.A. 137), and in 1210 it is *Sausintone* (R.B.); Domesday Book has *Salsiton*; and in I.C.C. we find *Salsintona*. But even these are abbreviated forms. The Chronicle of Ramsey Abbey has *Salsingetun*, *Salsingetune*, and the Latinised form *Selsingetona* (p. 50). This variation between *a* and *e* suggests that the A.S. vowel may have been *æ*; and, if so, the corresponding A.S. form is **Sælsinga-tūn*, or "town of the Sælsings." We have no means of deciding whether this form is correct; but the suffix *-inge* or *-inga* (gen. plural from *-ing*) is sufficient to show that the reference is to the settlement of a tribe, even though we cannot be quite sure as to the spelling of the name of the tribe's progenitor.

[1] But the Chronicle of Ramsey Abbey has *Iclesforde*.

ABINGTON. The form of the word is misleading. It was formerly *Abyntone* in 1302 (F.A., p. 150), and *Abintone* in the Red Book, Domesday Book, and I.C.C. As in the case of Abingdon in Berks., the modern Abing- really represents *Abban*, gen. of *Abba*, a common A.S. name. See Ælfric's Will, in Earle's Land Charters, p. 223, l. 1. There is another Abington in Northamptonshire, spelt *Abintone* in the Ramsey Chartulary. The sense is "Abba's farm."

BARRINGTON. The old spellings are *Barntone* in 1210 (R.B.), *Barentone* in 1284 (F.A. 137), *Baryngtone* in 1428 (F.A. 182). The form in Domesday Book and in I.C.C. is *Barentone*. The prefix *Baren-* answers to A.S. *Bæran*, gen. of a personal name *Bæra*. See three examples of this in Kemble's index. The sense is "Bæra's farm."

CONINGTON. The old spellings, according to Mr Foster, are *Conintone*, 1210 (R.B.), 1302 (F.A. 148), and *Conitone*, 1346, 1428 (F.A. 166, 185); also *Cunitone*, D.B. However, we find the spellings *Conington* in 1290 (In. p. m., p. 103); *Cuninctune* in the index to the Chronicle of Ramsey Abbey; and *Cunningtūn* in the Will of Ælfhelm of Wratting, written in fairly good Anglo-Saxon; see Birch, Cart. Saxon. iii. 630; and the land at Wratting had been granted to Ælfhelm by King Ēadgār in 974. Hence the spelling with *-ing* is well established, and there is a personal name *Cuna* from which it might be derived. Compare *Connington* in Hunts. At the same time, we cannot be quite sure that we really have here a tribal name. The prefix might represent the Icel. *konung-*, from *konungr*, a king.

§ 4. THE SUFFIX -HAM.

The next suffix to be discussed is *-ham*. It arises from two A.S. suffixes which were originally quite distinct; see the excellent articles on *Ham*, sb. (2) and *Ham*, sb. (3) in the New Eng. Dictionary; and cf. Kemble, Cod. Dipl. iii. p. xxvii. The two A.S. forms are (1) *ham* (with short *a*), also appearing as *hamm* and *hom*, with the sense of "enclosure" or "place fenced in," connected with the modern E. verb *to hem in*; and

(2) *hām*, modern English *home*, meaning a village or village community, often shortened to *ham* (with short *a*) when bearing the stress and preceding a consonant, as in *Hampstead* (lit. homestead), or when occurring in an unstressed position, as in *Wick-ham* (lit. village-home). As there is no distinction of form in the modern English names, the two will be taken together; they cannot always be distinguished.

Babraham. The old spellings are *Badburham* (R.B.) and *Badburgham*; Domesday Book has the latter; the full form *Badburgeham* is in I.C.C. The name is composed of known elements. The former is *Bād-*; see Sweet, O. Eng. Texts, p. 593; it occurs, e.g., in *Bād-helm*.

The latter is the common feminine suffix *-burh*, as in *Wilburhton*, Wilburton. Hence the personal name was *Bād-burh*, the name of a woman, the gen. case being *Bādburge*. The suffix would be *ham* (with short *a*), if the statement were correct which is quoted from Taylor in the New Eng. Dictionary, that *hām* (home) is not used with the name of an individual. But there are certainly some exceptions to this empirical rule, even among the place-names here considered; and it is positively contradicted by examples ending in *-haam*; see Sweet, O. E. Texts, p. 426.

Badlingham; near Chippenham. So spelt in 1284; and *Badelingham* in 1302 (F.A., 136, 143). The A.S. form would be *Badelinga-hām*, "the home of the Badelings"; where *Badeling* is formed from the personal name *Badela*. The gen. case occurs in *Badelan-brōc*, lit. Badela's brook; Kemble, Cod. Dipl. iii. 343, l. 19.

Balsham. Formerly *Balesham*, in Henry of Huntingdon, and in In. p. m. (1272); also *Belesham*, in 1170 and 1210 (P.R., R.B.), and in Domesday Book. Also *Bellesham*, in a charter dated 974, and apparently genuine; Kemble, Cod. Dipl. vi. 104, l. 20. *Belles and Bales* are probably variants of *Bælles*, as in *Bælles wæg*, Ball's way; Kemble, iii. 424, l. 10. This is the gen. case of *Bæll*, Ball, a personal name; and this form justifies the modern pronunciation.

BARHAM; near Linton. Spelt *Berkham* in 1210 (R.B.); *Bergham* in 1302, *Berugham* in 1346 (F.A., 145, 162); *Bercheham* in Domesday Book; but *Bercham* in I.C.C. The corresponding A.S. form is *Beorh-ham*, lit. "hill-enclosure." See the account of Bartlow at p. 35.

BOTTISHAM. We find *Bottesham* in 1428, *Botkesham* in 1400; *Bodkesham* in 1372 (Pedes Finium). An earlier form is *Bodekesham* in 1210 (R.B.); with slight variants at other dates; Domesday Book has *Bodichesham* likewise. A late charter has *Bodekesham*; Kemble, Cod. Dipl. iv. 145. The nom. case would be *Bodec*, closely allied to the weak form *Bodeca*, of which the gen. case *Bodecan* appears in *Bodecan-lēage*; Kemble, Cod. Dipl. i. 215. The sense is "Bodec's enclosure."

CHETTISHAM; near Ely. Spelt *Chetisham* in the Ramsey Chartulary. Of this name I can find no further illustration; except that, in In. p. m., we find *Chetescumbe*, Devon, in 1292, and *Cheteswell*, Warw., in 1315–6. Perhaps it is due to an A.S. name-form *Cett*. Compare the weak form *Cetta*, as in *Cettan-trēo*; Kemble, Cod. Dipl. iii. 380.

CHIPPENHAM. Spelt *Chipenham* in I.C.C.; and *Chipeham* in Domesday Book. There is a Chippenham in Wilts., of which the dat. case *Cippenhamme* occurs in a charter of Ælfred's; Kemble, Cod. Dipl. ii. 115, l. 2; spelt *Cippanhamme* in the A.S. Chronicle, an. 878. The suffix is *hamm*, an enclosure. *Cippan* is the gen. of *Cippa*, a name found once elsewhere. See the Crawford Charters, ed. Napier and Stevenson, p. 73. The sense is "Cippa's enclosure."

COLDHAM. The Ramsey Chartulary mentions the manor of Coldham. The derivation is obvious; from the Old Mercian *cald*, cold; and *ham*, an enclosure.

COTTENHAM. Formerly *Cotenham*, in I.C.C.; and in late A.S. Charters; *Cotenhame* in 1283 (In. p. m.). *Coten* might represent the A.S. *cotan*, gen. of *cota*, a cot or cottage; the

sense being 'cot-enclosure'; (cf. Coates and Coton;) but this would have given a long *o* in the modern form. Hence the original form should have been written *Cottan-ham*, in which case it is derived from *Cotta*, a known personal name. Even in that case, *Cotta* may once have meant "a cottar."

Downham. Formerly *Dūnham* (both vowels are marked long by Kemble, but without authority); Kemble, Cod. Dipl. iv. 209, l. 4. From A.S. *dūn*, a down or hill, and (probably) *ham*, an enclosure.

Dullingham. Spelt *Dullingeham* in 1210 (R.B.), and in Domesday Book; *Dullingham* in 1282 (In. p. m.). But we also find *Dilin-*, as in *Dilintone*, Red Book of the Exchequer, p. 531. These answer to an A.S. form *Dyllinga-ham*, or "home of the Dyllings." We may further compare Dilham, Norfolk, and Dilton, Wilts. And see *Dull* in the N.E.D. The same prefix occurs in Dillington, Hunts.

Fordham. Spelt *Fordeham* in Domesday Book. From *ford* (gen. *forda*), a ford, and *ham*, (perhaps) an enclosure.

Haddenham. Spelt *Hadenham* in 1300 (Cat. Ancient Deeds); *Hadreham* in Domesday Book; *Hadreham*, *Hæderham*, *Hadenham* in I.C.C.; A.S. *Hædan-hām*, Kemble, Cod. Dipl. vi. 98. *Hædan* is the gen. case of the personal name *Hæda*, perhaps a variant of *Heada*; cf. *Headan scræf* in Birch, Cart. Sax. i. 83, l. 2. Here *hām* is "home"; i.e. "Hæda's home."

Hildersham. Formerly *Hildricesham*; in Domesday Book and in the Ramsey Chartulary. From A.S. *Hilderīc*, a personal name.

Isleham. Formerly *Isilham*, 1284; *Iselham*, 1302 (F.A., 136, 143); *Yeselham*, 1321, in the Pedes Finium; *Gisleham* in Domesday Book. For A.S. *Gīslan-ham*; where *Gīslan* is the gen. case of *Gīsla*, a personal name. Compare *Gīsl-*, a common A.S. name-prefix. The A.S. *gīsel* means "a hostage"; and the initial *g*, being a mere *y*, was easily lost. See *gisel* in the New Eng. Dictionary.

NEWNHAM. In Cambridge. The spelling *Newynham* occurs in 1346 (F.A., 167), and a better form *Newenham* is in the Ramsey Chartulary. The form is due to the use of the A.S. dative, which is very common in the case of place-names, the preposition *æt* being understood. The full phrase would be *æt ðām nīwan hāme*, lit. "at the new home." Hence the *n* is a mere case-suffix, and the name has the same sense as if it were simply *Newham*. Kemble's Index gives several examples of A.S. *Nīwan-ham* as the old form of Newnham; and of A.S. *Nīwan-tūn* as the old form both of Newton and of Newington. In the form Newington the *-ing* was substituted for the *-n-* or *-in-* by association with the numerous names that end in *-ington*, so that Newing- (like Newn-) merely represents *nīwan*, the dat. of *nīwe*, new. In the case of Newnham, the suffix means "home," because we find the derived form *Nīwanhāma gemēro*; for which see Kemble's Index.

SOHAM. Formerly *Saham*, as in Domesday Book; and the *a* was long; cf. A.S. *stān* with E. *stone*. We have an English spelling of it, viz. *Sægham*, in a charter of the twelfth century; see Earle, Land Charters, p. 368, l. 8. Here *æ* is a modified form of *ā*; so that the better spelling would be *Sāgham*, which would regularly produce the modern form. The etymology is from *sīg-an* (pt. t. *sāg*), to sink down, so that the literal sense would be "a *ham* or enclosure situate near a depression" or "hollow." This suits the situation, as there was once a large mere at Soham before the fens were drained (Imperial Cyclopædia). Though the word is not otherwise known in English (unless "depression" is the meaning of the unknown A.S. *sāg*, which occurs once in a doubtful passage), we have its exact counterpart in the Bavarian *saig* and the Tyrolese *sege, söga*, a depression or swamp; see *Saig* in Schmeller's Bavarian Dictionary. The alternative A.S. form *Sægham* will account for the M.E. form *Seham*, in the Chronicle of Ramsey Abbey; unless the *e* is an error for *o*, a mistake which is not uncommon.

STRETHAM. Spelt *Stratham* in I.C.C. The lit. sense is "street-ham"; an enclosure situate near an old street or

causeway. It is situate at the point where the causeway from Earith to Haddenham, continued through Wilburton, joins the road from Cambridge to Ely.

SWAFFHAM. Formerly *Swafham*, in 1210 (R.B.); *Suafam* in Domesday Book; also *Suafham* in a late charter; Kemble, Cod. Dipl. iv. 245, l. 20. From a personal name related to the A.S. name-prefix *Swæf-*, in which the *æ* was originally long. See further under SWAVESEY; p. 55. In the case of Swaffham Bulbeck, the name *Bulbeck* is explained by the statement in I.C.C., p. 12, that "Hugo de Bolebech" held seven and a half hides of land at Swaffham. The better spelling *Bolebec* occurs at p. 102; and this surname goes back to a Norman place-name *Bolbec*, derived from *bull* (Icel. *boli*) and *beck*, a stream. It is spelt *Bolebek* in 1284 (Feudal Aids). In 1302 we find *Swafham Prioris*, which accounts for Swaffham Prior's.

TEVERSHAM. Formerly *Teueresham*, in 1210 (R.B.); in Domesday Book it is *Teuresham* and *Teuersham*; and *Teuresham* in a late charter; Kemble, Cod. Dipl. iv. 245, l. 23. The corresponding A.S. form would be *Teferes-ham*, as if from a nom. case *Tefer* or *Tefere*; but I find no trace of this name elsewhere, beyond the parallel form *Teversall* (perhaps Tefer's hall) in Notts. The ending *-ere* may represent the common name-suffix *-here*; and the oldest form may have been *Tēof-here*; cf. *Tēoue-lēah* and *Teobba* in Kemble's Index.

WEST WICKHAM. The A.S. name of Wickham is *Wīc-hām*; Kemble, Cod. Dipl. vi. 98, l. 6. From *wīc*, a village, not a native word, but borrowed from Lat. *uīcus*; and *hām*, a home. The *a* is long; cf. *Wīc-hāma*, Kemble, v. 243; l. 8.

WILBRAHAM. Spelt *Wilburham* in 1302 (F.A., 143). The prefix is the same as that which begins Wilburton; viz. the female name *Wilburh* (p. 14). The genitive of *Wilburh* was *Wilburge*; and the suffix *-e* is preserved in the spelling *Wilburehām* (A.D. 1156) in the Chronicle of Ramsey Abbey. The right form *Wilburgeham* is in Birch, Cart. Saxon. iii. 630.

WILLINGHAM. Formerly *Wiuelingeham*, as in Domesday Book; *Weuelingham* (misprinted *Wenelingham*) in the Ramsey Chartulary; also, in a late charter, *Uuiulingeham*, misprinted as *Uuinlingeham*; Kemble, Cod. Dipl. iv. 245, l. 12 from bottom. These spellings represent an A.S. *Wifelingahām*, or "the home of the Wifelings." *Wifeling* is a patronymic formed from *Wifel*, a name of which there are several examples in Kemble's Index. It was spelt *Wivelingham* as late as 1750 (W. Aldis Wright). Willingham, Linc., was also *Wyvelingham* in 1311 (In. p. m.).

WITCHAM. Formerly *Wychham*, in 1302 (F.A., 151); and *Wiceham* in Domesday Book, where *c* denotes either the sound of E. *ch* or of *ts*; cf. Witchford (p. 65). This *Wice* (*Wiche*) represents an A.S. *Wican*, gen. case of *Wica*, related to the name-prefix *Wic-*, which appears in several compounds. It is quite distinct from Wickham (above); the prefix in this case being native English. *Wice* might, however, mean "witch-elm."

§ 5. THE SUFFIX -STEAD.

This suffix is here almost unknown. Still, there is an Olmstead Green, and Hall, close to Castle Camps.

OLMSTEAD. We find *Olmestede* in 1302 (Feudal Aids), and *Olmisted* in 1316 (in the same). The latter part of the word is *stead*, a place, A.S. *stede*. The spelling is not old enough to fix the former part of it with certainty. The word which most resembles it is Du. *olm*, an elm, which is merely borrowed from the Lat. *ulmus*. The form *ulm-trēow*, elm-tree, occurs in A.S.; and it is possible that *Olm-* represents this *ulm*.

Lysons says that "Olmsted Hall was at first in the family of Olmsted." But the family was named from some place.

Compare Elmstead, Essex, and Elmsted, Kent.

§ 6. THE SUFFIX -WORTH.

The A.S. *worth* was applied to an enclosed homestead or farm; see Bosworth and Toller's A.S. Dict., p. 1267. It is closely allied to the A.S. *weorth*, worth, value; and may be

taken in the sense of "property" or "holding" or "farm." There are several names with this suffix.

Boxworth. Formerly *Bokesworth*, in 1256 (In. p. m.); in 1284 (F.A.); and in the Ramsey Chartulary (index). Domesday Book has *Bochesuuorde*, with *ch* for the sound of *c* or *k*, and *d* for that of *th*. The Old English prefix would be *Boces* (with *c* as *k*), gen. of *Boc*. *Boc* was perhaps a Norse name rather than A.S.; as it answers better to Icel. *bokkr*, Swed. *bock*, a he-goat, than to the rare A.S. *buc*, a buck, or he-deer; though we find the spelling *Bukeswrth* in 1228 (Pedes Finium).

Duxford. The suffix *-ford* is quite modern, and a substitution for *-worth*[1]; we find *Dokisworth* as late as in Fuller's Worthies; so also *Dokesworth* in 1211 (R.B.), *Dukesworth* in 1284 (F.A.), and *Dochesuuorde* in Domesday Book. The corresponding A.S. prefix would be *Duces*, gen. of *Duc*, a name not otherwise known, unless it be related to *Duce-mannes-tūn* and *Duceling-dūn* in Kemble's Index, the latter being the modern Ducklington, in Oxfordshire. It is certainly not the same word as the modern *duck*, because the A.S. form of that word (which is extremely rare) was *dūca*; and the gen. *dūcan* could not have produced a form in *-es*. Cf. *Duccen-hulle* in Birch, Cart. Sax. iii. 95. It means "Duc's farm."

Elsworth. Formerly *Ellesworthe* in 1316, *Elesworth* in 1284 (F.A.); and *Elesworde* in Domesday Book. The A.S. form is *Elesworð*, in late and perhaps spurious charters; Kemble, Cod. Dipl. iii. 107, iv. 145. The Ramsey Chartulary gives the prefix as *Eles-*, *Elis-*, *Elles-*, *Ellis-*. This we may compare with *Elles-beorh* in Kemble's Index, and with *Ælles-burne*; from the nom. *Ælle*, oldest form *Ælli* (Sweet).

Similarly, Elsham, Linc., was *Ellesham* in 1266 (In. p. m.).

Kneesworth. Spelt *Knesworthe* in 1316, and *Kneesworthe* in 1346 (F.A.); *Knesworth* in 1276 (Rot. Hund. p. 51). *Knee*

[1] The intermediate form *Duxforth* occurs in the time of Henry VIII; in Valor Ecclesiasticus, iii. 504.

(A.S. *cnēo*) is not recorded as a name. The A.S. *cnēo* means not only "knee," but "a generation."

LOLWORTH. Spelt *Lulleworth* in 1284 (F.A.); *Lolesuuorde* in Domesday Book; *Lollesworth* in the Chronicle of Ramsey Abbey. The same name as *Lulworth* in Dorsetshire. Kemble's Index has also the forms *Lulleswyrð* and *Lullesbeorh*. The Domesday *Loles* represents the A.S. *Lulles*, gen. case of *Lull*, a known name. It means "Lull's farm."

PAMPISFORD. As in the case of Duxford, the suffix *-ford* is here quite modern; I find *Pampsworth* in 1851. Fuller has *Pampisworth*, and it is the same in all early spellings, which only vary as to the use of *-es* and *-is*. Domesday Book has *Pampesuuorde*. The name *Pamp*, here implied, is a remarkable one, but no more is known about it. Perhaps it is of Scandinavian origin; compare Dan. dialect *pamper*, a short, thick-set person (Molbech), and the Lincolnshire *pammy*, thick and fat (Halliwell)[1]. The Ramsey Chartulary mentions an *Alan Pampelin*. It means "Pamp's farm."

PAPWORTH. Spelt *Papeworde* in Domesday Book. The Ramsey Chartulary has *Pappenwrthe* and *Pappeworthe*. *Pape* or *Pappen* corresponds to A.S. *Pappan*, gen. case of *Pappa*. Cf. *Papan-holt*, Birch, C. S. ii. 246, l. 2. Moreover, there is a *Papcastle* in Cumberland. It means "Pappa's farm."

STETCHWORTH. Spelt *Stewcheworthe* in 1383 (Cat. Anc. Deeds, vol. ii.); *Stiuicesuuorde* and *Stuuicesworde* in Domesday Book. In late charters we find the Anglo-French spellings *Steuicheswrðe*, Kemble, Cod. Dipl. iv. 245, l. 23; and *Steuecheworde*, iv. 269, l. 4 from bottom; also *Stivecheswrthe* in 1235 (P.F.). The forms in Domesday Book imply an A.S. *Styfices*, gen. of *Styfic*, or else *Styfeces*, gen. of *Styfec*[2]. The latter is a

[1] The local name is *Paanza*, regularly shortened from *Pamp's'orth*; like *Saapsa* from *Sawbridgeworth*. The form *Pampisford* would have been shortened to *Paanzfud* or *Ponzfud*, or *Ponsfud*, with persistent *f*.

[2] As seen in *Styfec-ing* in Kemble's Index, and in *Styvec-lēa* (Stukeley) in Thorpe, Diplom. p. 382, note 6.

known form, and further accounts for the weak form *Stuca* (shortened from *Styfeca*); and consequently for *Stukeley* in Hunts., of which an old spelling was *Stiveclea* (index to Ramsey Chartulary); cf. p. 27 above, note 2. It means "Styfec's farm."

WENTWORTH. Spelt *Wynteworthe* in 1428 (F.A.), *Wynteworth* in 1291 (Taxatio Ecclesiastica); and *Winteworde* in Domesday Book. *Winte* answers to A.S. *Wintan*, gen. case of *Winta*. *Winta* was the name of a son of *Wōden*; see Sweet, Old Eng. Texts, p. 171, first line. It means "Winta's farm."

§ 7. THE SUFFIXES -WICK AND -COTE.

Another suffix similar in sense to *-ham* and *-ton* is *wick*. This is not a native word; the A.S. *wīc*, a dwelling, being merely borrowed from the Lat. *uīcus*, a village. It appears as the former part of a compound in *Wick-ham* (p. 24); but it is also a suffix, as in *Ben-wick*, *Hard-wick*, and *West-wick*.

BENWICK. Spelt *Benewik* in the Ramsey Chartulary. We have two Benningtons, viz. in Lincolnshire and Hertfordshire, where *Benning* is presumably a patronymic. We may therefore derive *Ben-wick* from the A.S. *Bennan*, gen. case of *Benna*, a known name. There is also a name *Beonna*, which is probably a mere variant of the former; see, however, the Crawford Charters, p. 64. It means "Benna's abode."

HARDWICK. Spelt *Herdwice* in 1171 (R.B.); *Herdewic* in the Ramsey Chartulary; *Hardwic* in a late charter, Kemble, Cod. Dipl. iv. 245; and in I.C.C. *Herdewic* answers to the A.S. *Heorde-wīc* (Kemble); from *heorde*, gen. of *heord*, a herd or flock. There are several other parishes of the same name.

WESTWICK. *Westuuiche* in Domesday Book. The prefix, as in Westley, is the A.S. *west*, west. It is near Oakington.

COATES. There is a place in Cambs. named *Coates*, lying to the E. of Whittlesea. This is the same word as M.E. *cotes*,

the pl. of *cote*, a cot; and means "a collection of cottages." For its use as a suffix, see below. The Ramsey Chartulary mentions a Robert de Cotes. Cf. COTON, at p. 8.

CALDECOTT, or CALDECOTE. The latter form occurs in Fuller's Worthies and in Domesday Book. It is not derived from the O. Mercian *cald* (A.S. *ceald*), cold, and *cote*, a cot, in the nominative case, but from the formula *æt thām caldan cotan*, where the preposition *æt* was originally prefixed, with the dative case following it. This is how *caldan cotan*, Mid. Eng. *caldë cotë*, has produced the modern Eng. trisyllabic form. Moreover, the *a* in M.E. *caldë* was not lengthened as in the nominative *cāld* (modern E. *cold*), but remained short as at first. This was because the final *e* in *caldë* was not dropped. The cottage was no doubt called "cold" from being in an exposed situation.

§ 8. THE SUFFIXES -BRIDGE, -HITHE, -LOW, AND -WELL.

Besides the suffixes *-ham* and others which mark the abode of the primitive tillers of the soil, there are others which relate to artificial constructions, such as *-bridge*, *-hithe*, *-low*, and *-well*; which may be considered together.

The *bridges* are Cambridge, Pearl's Bridge, and Sturbridge.

CAMBRIDGE. In an article published at length in my book entitled A Student's Pastime, pp. 393—401, I showed how the name *Cambridge* is practically modern, being corrupted, by regular gradations, from the original A.S. form which had the sense of *Granta-bridge*; and consequently that the town is not derived from the name of the river *Cam*, which is modern and artificial, but conversely, the name of the *Cam* was, in the course of centuries, evolved out of the name of the town. Had it been otherwise, the name of the town would have been *Camm-bridge*, pronounced so that *Camm* would rhyme with *ham* and *jam*. As it is, the *Cam* is modernised from the Latin *Cāmus* of the 16th century. The easiest way for those who are not much acquainted with phonetic laws to understand

this rather difficult point, is to observe the chronological facts. And for this purpose, the successive forms of the name are given below, with sufficient dates.

The original name was *Caer-grant*, as in Nennius, meaning "the fort (or *castra*) beside the *Grant*"; the *Grant* being, presumably, a Celtic river-name, of unknown meaning.

The Anglo-Saxon and Middle-English forms now follow. Those with *Gr-* come first.

[*Granta-caestir*; Beda, Eccl. Hist., bk. iv. c. 19 (8th century). Here *caestir* is a Northern E. form of the Lat. *castra*, used as equivalent to the Welsh *caer*. This, however, produced the modern form *Grantchester*, not the name with the *bridge*. Nevertheless, we must remember that Grantchester was really the old name of Cambridge itself, and was only assigned to the village *now* so called in very recent times; see this discussed under the heading Grantchester.]

Grante-brycge (dat. case); A.S. Chronicle, under the date 875. The late Laud MS. has *Grantan-*, as though it were the gen. case of *Granta*, the river-name treated as a *weak* sb. in *-a*; and *brycge* is the dat. of A.S. *brycg*, a bridge.

Grantanbricge; in a late copy of a charter dated 970; Kemble, iii. 61.

Grantebrigiae, gen. sing. of a Latinised form; in a late copy of a charter dated 948; Kemble, ii. 282.

Grantabrycg-scīr, i.e. Cambridge-shire; A.S. Chronicle, under the date 1010.

Grentebrige; in Domesday Book.

Grentebrigia (Latinised); Pipe Roll, A.D. 1130.

Grantebrigesyre, Cambridge-shire; in Henry of Huntingdon, ed. Arnold, p. 9; first half of the twelfth century. (But a later MS. has *Kantebrigesire*. The false spelling *syre* is due to a Norman scribe, writing *s* for *sh*.)

Grantabric, *Granthebrige*; Simeon of Durham, in the Record Series, pp. 82, 111; twelfth century. He also has the phrase *supra Grentam fluvium*.

Grauntebruggescire; Southern English Legendary, E.E.T.S.; p. 347, l. 66. About A.D. 1290.

Grauntebrugge-ssire (with *ss* for *sh*); Rob. of Gloucester,

l. 132; about A.D. 1330 (date of the MS.). A later MS. (about 1400) has *Cambrugge-schire.*

Grauntbrigge, used as a personal name; Iohannes de Grauntbrigge, Abbreviatio Placitorum, p. 275; A.D. 1283. For examples of similar names, see the Patent Rolls, &c. The latest mention of a "Iohannes de Grauntbrigge, qui obiit sine herede," is in the Patent Rolls, p. 242; date, the second year of Henry IV; A.D. 1400–1. After this date, the form with initial *Gr-* seems to have perished, being superseded by the forms beginning with *C.*

Historically, the form with *Gr-* was in *sole* use down to A.D. 1140; and in partial use down to A.D. 1400.

The earliest date in which the initial *C* appears is in a document dated 1142. The form is *Cantebruggescir*; see Notes and Queries, 8 S. viii. 314. The use of *C* for *Gr* arose from a Norman mispronunciation; the dropping of the *r,* in particular, is clearly due to a wish to avoid the use of *gr* and *br* in the same word. This form soon became fashionable and common.

Cantabrigia (Latinised); Pipe Rolls, 1150–61.

Cantebrigia; Ramsey Chartulary, iii. 243; after 1161.

Cantebrugescir; Rotuli Chartarum in Turri; vol. i. pars 1, 80. A.D. 1200.

Cantebrug; Close Rolls, i. 381; A.D. 1218.

Cantebrigg as a personal name; "Roger de Cantebrigg"; In. p. m., i. 30; A.D. 1267.

Cauntebrigge as a personal name; "Iohannes de Cauntebrigge," as compared with "Iohannes de Grauntbrigge" above; Spelman, Glossarium, p. 544.

It is a peculiarity of Anglo-French that it frequently turns *ant* into *aunt*; this was due to the fact that *a* (before *n*) was sometimes nasal. It also turned the Lat. *camera* (O. French *chambre*) into *chaumbre,* or (without the nasal effect) into *chaambre,* with long Italian *a.* This is why the *a* in *chāmber* is long in modern English. The point of this remark will soon be seen.

Cantebrigge, in an excellent MS. (the Ellesmere MS.) of Chaucer's Cant. Tales; Reves Tale, first line.

Canbrigge (and of course also *Caunbrigge*), by the loss of *t*

between *n* and *b*, where it is hard to sound it; Early Eng. Wills, ed. Furnivall, p. 105. A.D. 1436.

Cambrugge (with *mb* for *nb*) in a rather late MS. (the Lansdowne MS.) of Chaucer's Cant. Tales; Reves Tale, first line. After A.D. 1400. So in Rob. Glouc., l. 132 (MS. B.).

Kawmbrege; Paston Letters, i. 82; A.D. 1449.

Caumbrege; Paston Letters, i. 422; A.D. 1458.

Cambryge (with *ā* for *au*); Paston Letters, ii. 91; A.D. 1462. And this has produced the modern form, with long *a* as in *chamber*.

The following points should be noted: (1) the name always begins with *Gr* down to 1140; (2) the initial *C* is first known in 1142; (3) the *t* dropped out after 1400, changing *n* into *m*; (4) the first three letters appear as *Cam-*, for the first time, after A.D. 1400. And all the while, the river was the Granta, though an attempt was made to call it the *Cante* in 1372; Willis and Clark, Hist. of Cambridge, i. 112. The name Granta appears repeatedly, and is still in use. "The river Grant from Cambridge" occurs in 1617[1]. At last, when the name *Cambridge* was well established (after 1500), scholars, writing in Latin, coined the name *Cāmus* for the river, which they also sometimes spelt *Chāmus*. The Cambridge Review for Nov. 14, 1895, quoted at p. 74 some verses by Giles Fletcher, prefixed to an edition of Demosthenes published in 1571, containing the line—

Accipe quae nuper Chami fluentis ad undam.

Hence Camden says:—"alii *Grantam*, *Camum* alii nuncupant"; A.D. 1586.

The English name *Cam* is later still; first appearing about 1600. In 1610, Speed's map of Cambridge shows the "Cam"; and in 1613, Drayton mentions "Cam, her daintiest flood, long since intituled Grant"; Polyolbion, song xxi. l. 107. Cf. "Grant or Cam"; Conybeare's Cambs., p. 249.

As late as 1831, I find in Pigot's Atlas, the remark that "the principal rivers of Cambridgeshire are the Ouse, and the *Granta* or *Cam*."

[1] See The Fenland, Past and Present, p. 205.

It is worth mentioning that Camden was sadly misled when he identified Cambridge with the Latin *Camboritum*[1] (or *Camboricum*) owing to the similarity (!) of the names. The identification may be correct on *other* grounds; but the argument from similarity of sound is naught. It is quite impossible that the Latin *Camboritum* can be allied, as to its name, with the *Granta*; whilst, as for the *Cam*, it was never heard of, even as a part of the name of the town, till about 1400, at least a thousand years after the Roman name *Camboritum* was first in use, and many centuries after it had been wholly forgotten. And the talk about the river's crookedness, merely because the modern Welsh word *cam* means crooked, is quite beside the purpose.

PEARL'S BRIDGE; near Downham. Of this name I find no history. It is doubtless modern.

STURBRIDGE. Also Stourbridge, as if it were "the bridge over the Stour."

The celebrated "Stourbridge Fair," which suggested "Vanity Fair," was held in a field bounded on the North by the Cam, and on the East by the "Stour," a tiny rivulet which runs under a bridge on the Newmarket road, very near the railway to Waterbeach. See Conybeare's Cambs., p. 241. But it is to be feared that the name of this rivulet (like that of the Cam) is modern, and was invented to suit the exigencies of popular etymology. For in 1279 the name was written *Steresbreg'* (Rot. Hund. ii. 438); as if from a personal name *Stēr*. Cf. Searle's Onomasticon; and A.S. *Stēor*, a steer or ox. At a later date the *s* dropped out; we find "*Sterrebridge* apud Cantab." in the Patent Rolls, A.D. 1418–9; p. 267, col. 2. Cf. also *Steresgarth* (Linc.) in 1348–9; Abbreviatio Rot. Originalium, p. 196. It means "Steer's bridge." See also p. 78.

[1] *C* and *t* are often confused, and *Camboricum* gives no sense; whereas *-ritum* corresponds to the O. Breton *rit*, W. *rhyd*, a ford (Stokes, who gives Augusto-ritum and Ritu-magus as examples).

Hithe.

Examples of Hithe occur in Clayhithe, Aldreth, and Earith. The name Clayhithe sounds somewhat modern, as the latter syllable preserves its distinctness. Still, it appears as *Cleyhethe* in 1284 (F.A. 135) and in 1279 (Rot. Hund. vol. ii.).

Aldreth. Aldreth lies to the south of Haddenham and to the north of a tributary of the Ouse; a long causeway here crosses the fenland towards Balsar's (or Belsar's) Hill. It was on the south-west shore of the Isle of Ely, and may very well have been named from possessing a *hithe*, which Kemble defines as "a place that receives a ship on its landing, a low shore, fit to be a landing-place for boats." It is only some four miles in a direct line from Earith, which was named for a similar reason, and is situate close to the Ouse itself. The form of the word is a little difficult. The former part of it appears as *Alre-* in the Pipe Rolls for 1170, 1171, and 1172, also as *Alder-*, *Alther-* in the Cartularium Monasterii de Rameseia (see Index). Perhaps these forms answer to A.S. *alor-*, *alr-*, *alre-*, combining forms of *alr*, *alor*, M.E. *alder*, an alder-tree. As to the latter part of the word, we find, in the Ramsey Chronicle, *Alder-hithe*, *Alder-hethe*, *Alther-hethe*, and the Latinised forms *Alre-heda*, *Alder-heda*. The Pipe Rolls have *Alre-heda*, *Alre-hedra* (with *r* wrongly inserted), and *Alre-hudra* (for *Alre-huda*); and since the final *-da* is a Latin substitution for *-the*, the form of the suffix is really *-hithe*, *-hethe*, *-huthe*. These represent the A.S. *hȳð*, a hithe, of which later forms were *hithe* and *huthe* (regularly), and the late Kentish *hēð*, which gives *hethe* (Sievers, A.S. Grammar, 1898, § 154). The last form can be accounted for by the fact that scribes were not unfrequently taught in Kent. On the whole, the probability of this interpretation seems correct; especially as the forms for Earith are similar. See the note on the boundaries of the Isle of Ely, at p. 54.

Earith. Spelt *Erhith* in Sprott's Chronicle. Obviously the same name as Erith in Kent, which is written *Earhyth* in

Kemble, Cod. Dipl. i. 44; and *Earhiδ* (both vowels accented) in the same, vi. 127. The Ramsey Chronicle has the spellings *Herhethe, Herhythe, Herithe, Erithe, Erethe*, with reference to Earith in Cambs.; and as the initial *H* is merely due to the freak of a Norman scribe, these can be reduced to *Erhythe, Erithe, Erhethe, Erethe.* And as in the case of the name above, the *y* and *i* represent the Wessex *ȳ* in *hȳδ*, and the *e* represents the Kentish *ē*. As to *Ēar*, the sense is known; it was the name of one of the Runic letters, and is used in a poem to signify "earth"; a word rare in A.S., but very common in Scandinavian. For, as the A.S. *ēa* is etymologically equivalent to the Icel. *au*, we find a more exact sense by looking out *aurr* in the Icelandic Dictionary, from which we learn that it means wet clay, wet soil, or mud; with reference, perhaps, to the silt deposited by the salt water of the Wash. The sense, in fact, is fairly given by "muddy landing-place" or "silt-hithe." At the same time, the Dan. *ör* signifies "gravel," and the Swed. dial. *ör* means "a sandy shore"; both are common in place-names. Elsinore is, properly, *Helsing-ör.* The modern spelling of *Earith* simulates A.S. *ēa-rīδ*, both members meaning "stream"; but the old spellings show that it was a *hithe.*

The suffix -low.

A *low* or *law* (A.S. *hlāw*) is a mound or rising ground; sometimes natural and sometimes artificial. In the latter case, it generally means a burial mound or barrow. It occurs in *Bartlow, Tadlow,* and *Triplow.*

Bartlow. A modern form; formerly *Berklow,* as in Fuller's Worthies; spelt *Berklawe* in 1303 (In. p. m.); *Berkelowe* in 1316; *Berklowe* in 1428 (F.A., 155, 192). As to the sense of *Berk-*, we have only to refer to the various spellings of Barham (p. 21), in order to see that *Berk* was a Norman form due to the A.S. *beorh*, a hill, a tumulus, or a funeral barrow. It is clear that we have here an instance in which an old name has been explained and translated by one that happened to be better understood by

the particular people who renamed it. The literal sense is "barrow," repeated in a different form. It may be noted that Barham Hall is near Bartlow, and that there are conspicuous tumuli in the neighbourhood.

Tadlow. The old spelling is *Tadelowe*, in 1302 (F.A.); also *Tadelawe* in the same year (In. p. m.). Domesday Book has *Tadelai*, where *lai* is an incorrect rendering of the Old English sound; indeed, I.C.C. has *Tadeslawe*. The suffix *-low* means "funeral mound" or tumulus, as before. The prefix *Tade* represents the A.S. *Tādan*, as seen again in *Tādanlēah*, now Tadley, in Hants.; see Kemble's Index. *Tādan* is the gen. case of the personal name *Tāda* or *Tada*; for the length of the vowel is not quite certain. It is perhaps related to the *tad-* in *tad-pole*, and to A.S. *tādige*, a toad. The Ramsey Chartulary mentions a tenant named *Edric Tode*.

Triplow. We find the old spellings *Trippelowe* in 1276 (Rot. Hund. i. 52), and *Trippelawe* in 1302 (F.A.); Domesday Book has *Trepeslau*; I.C.C. has *Trepeslau*, *Treppelau*. A late A.S. Charter has *Tripelau* (an Anglo-French spelling), misprinted *Tripelan*; Kemble, Cod. Dipl. iv. 245. *Trippe* represents an A.S. *Trippan*, gen. of *Trippa*, a personal name of which there is no other record. The tumulus at Triplow is marked on the Ordnance Map. The occasional spelling *Thriplow* (with *Th*) seems to be a Norman eccentricity, like our present spelling of *Thames*; cf. *Thofte* for *Toft*, p. 75.

The suffix -well.

The following names end in *-well*, viz. Barnwell, Burwell, Knapwell, Orwell, Outwell, Snailwell, Upwell. They refer to the word *well* in its usual sense.

Barnwell. The old spelling is *Bernewell*, in the time of Henry III and later. Somewhat earlier is *Beornewelle*, in a late copy of a charter dated 1060; Thorpe, Diplom. p. 383. So also in the Ramsey Chartulary. The prefix has nothing to

do with the A.S. *bearn*, a child, as has often, I believe, been suggested[1]; but represents *Beornan*, gen. of *Beorna*, a pet-name for a name beginning with *Beorn-*. It is worth noting that, as appears from Kemble's Index, the prefix *beorn*, a warrior, occurs at least nine times in place-names, whilst *bearn*, a child, does not occur at all. And again, the prefix *Beorn-* occurs in more than 200 instances in Searle's Onomasticon; whereas the occurrence of *Bearn* is rare, and perhaps doubtful. The difference between the words, which are quite distinct, is admirably illustrated in the New Eng. Dict., under the words *berne* and *bairn*. The sense is "Beorna's well."

BURWELL. Spelt *Burewelle* in Domesday Book; *Burgewelle* in 1346 (F.A.); *Burewelle* in a late copy of the charter of 1060; Thorpe, Diplom. 383. It is to be compared with *Buregwell*, *Burhwylla*, *Byrgwylla* in Kemble's Index. Thus the prefix is *burge*, gen. case of the A.S. *burh*, a borough, a fort; which probably stood on the spot where King Stephen afterwards constructed a castle; cf. Conybeare, Hist. Cambs. p. 114.

But I.C.C. has *Buruuelle*, as if the original were simply *burh-wylle*, "borough-well." The difference is slight.

KNAPWELL. Formerly *Cnapwelle*, in 1330 (Cat. Ancient Deeds, vol. 2); Domesday Book has *Chenepewelle*, where the initial *Ch* represents *K*, and the following *e* is inserted merely to enable the unfortunate Norman to pronounce the initial *Kn*, A.S. *Cn*. For the spelling *Cnapenwelle*, see the footnote no. 12 to Thorpe, Diplom. p. 383; and compare *Cnapenewelle*, *Cnappewelle*, in the Ramsey Chartulary (index). The prefix represents A.S. *Cnapan*, gen. case of *Cnapa*, a known name. The spelling *Cnapenwelle* shows that it is not from A.S. *cnæp* (gen. *cnæppes*), a hill-top. It means "Cnapa's well."

ORWELL. Formerly *Orewelle*, in 1284 (F.A.); the form *Norwelle* (in 1210, R.B.) is due to a misapprehension of the phrase *atten Orewelle*, "at the Orewelle," which is a common formula in Middle English. Domesday Book has *Oreuuelle*,

[1] See the highly imaginative passage to this effect, quoted in Conybeare's History, App. p. 291.

also *Orduuelle*, *Oreduuelle*; but the *d* is a Norman insertion, and may be neglected; cf. *Oreuuella* in I.C.C. The prefix is the A.S. *ōran*, gen. case of *ōra*, a border, edge, brink, or margin; which, as Prof. Toller notes, is common in place-names, though it usually comes at the end rather than at the beginning. Still we have *Oran-weg* in Kemble's Index; and such place-names as Or-cop, Heref.; Or-ford, Suff., Or-ton, Cumb.; and Ore, standing alone, in Sussex, also spelt Oare, as in Kent. The sense is "well beside the brink."

Out-well. I.e. the well lying just outside the village. From A.S. *ūt*, out.

Snail-well. Compounded of *snail* and *well*, as the old spellings show. Mr Foster gives *Sneilwella* (1169, P.R.); *Sneyllwelle* (1441, Cat. Anc. Deeds, vol. 2); *Sneilewelle* (1302), *Sneylwelle* (1316), *Snayllewelle* (1284), *Snaylewell* (1428, F.A.). A late copy of a charter of Edward the Confessor has *Sneille-welle*; Kemble, Cod. Dipl. iv. 245; cf. *Snegeluuelle* in I.C.C. We may be reminded that many place-names were conferred for trivial reasons. The false spelling *Snellewelle* in Domesday Book has misled some writers, who have referred it to *Snell* as a man's name, as in *Snelston*, Derbyshire, where the inserted *s* is significant. But even the modern pronunciation is sometimes more correct than Domesday Book; as several examples show. It was not till the end of the thirteenth century that the Normans at last controlled the spelling of English. I may add that the small river flowing from this place is now called the River Snail.

Upwell. From *up* and *well*; a well that is above the path-way. Compare Up-ham, Up-wood, and the 24 Up-tons.

§ 9. The suffixes camp, chester, dike, hale, hirn, lode, port, reth, ware.

Besides the above, there are other suffixes referring to other artificial features, which may be here noticed; such as *camp*, *chester*, *dike*, *hale*, *hirn*, *lode*, *port*, *reth*, *ware*.

CAMP. Our word *camp*, in the sense of encampment, is comparatively modern in literature, and due to the Italian *campo*; see the New Eng. Dict. The A.S. Dict. only gives *camp* in the sense of "battle," the sense of "encampment" being denoted by *camp-stede*. Nevertheless, the A.S. *camp*, in place-names, and there only, has also the sense of "open field" or "plain ground"; a sense which was borrowed immediately from the Lat. *campus*. This is proved by the occurrence in Kemble's Index of the form *Campsætena gemǣro*, which Bosworth's Dictionary does not notice; it cannot have any other sense than "boundaries of the settlers in the *camp*" or "field." The sense of "battle" is here impossible. So also in *Todan camp*; Birch, C. S. ii. 585, l. 8.

That the word *camp* (as a place-name) is old, is proved by its occurrence as *Campes* in I.C.C., and by the characteristic Norman spelling *Caumpes* in 1302 (F.A.), with reference to Shudy Camps. We also find, with reference to Shudy Camps, the forms *Schude Camp*, 1284, *Schode Caumpes*, 1302 (F.A.). Compare also the name *Martin de Campo*, in the Ramsey Chartulary.

CASTLE-CAMPS; i.e. "castle fields." It requires no further illustration.

SHUDY CAMPS. Spelt *Schodecaump* in 1310 (In. p. m.). *Shudy* is said (in the Hist. Cambs., 1851) to have been the name of a family who once possessed the manor; but it arose, nevertheless, from the name of some place. The variation from *u* to *o* in the spellings *Schude*, *Schode*, shows that the *u* was originally short. Indeed, the fondness of Norman scribes for writing *o* instead of short *u* is notorious; we all write *monk* to this day instead of *munk*. Moreover, the modern pronunciation shows the same thing; for a long *u* would have produced a modern *ow*, as in *cow* from *cū*. As the M.E. *u* not unfrequently represents the A.S. *y*, the A.S. form (without the suffix) would be *scydd*. This form is given by Toller, with a difficult quotation from Kemble's Charters. He proposes the sense "alluvial ground"; and correctly equates it to G. *schutt*.

We have, in fact, some choice of senses; the E. Friesic *schudde* (like Du. *schadde*) means "a sod, a piece of turf"; the Low G. *schudde* means "alluvial soil"; and the G. *schutt* means "a bank of earth, a mound," or sometimes "rubble." My guess is that *Shudy* originally referred to some peculiarity of the soil of some (unknown) place. There was a *Shudeford* in Devon (In. p. m., p. 71).

CHESTER. This represents the A.S. *ceaster*, borrowed from the Latin *castra*, a camp. The sole examples are Chester-ton and Grant-chester. The latter means the camp beside the Granta. CHESTERTON is spelt *Cestretone* in Domesday Book, where *Ce* denotes the sound of E. *Che*; and conversely, the Norman *Che* denotes E. *Ke*, as already shown. There is a Chesterton in Warwickshire which shows the true A.S. spelling *Ceaster-tūn*; see Kemble's Index.

As for GRANTCHESTER, the A.S. spelling *Grantaceaster* occurs in Kemble, Cod. Dipl. iii. 58, l. 4. The charter is probably spurious as far as the Latin part of it is concerned; but it is worth notice that the phrase "in prouincia Grantaceaster" obviously means Cambridgeshire. The spelling *Granteceaster* occurs in section 3 of the Life of St Guthlac, ed. Goodwin, p. 20, where the river is called the *Grante*; and the passage is so curious that I quote Goodwin's translation. "There is in Britain a fen of immense size, which begins from the river *Grante* not far from the *ceaster*, which is named *Granteceaster*. There are immense marshes, now a black pool of water, now foul running streams, and also many islands, and reeds, and hillocks, and thickets; and with manifold windings wide and long it continues up to the north sea." But there is a far older reference in Beda, Eccl. Hist. iv. 19:—"uenerunt ad ciuitatulam quandam desolatam...quae lingua Anglorum *Grantacaestir* uocatur"; see the ed. by Mayor and Lumby, p. 128, l. 28. All these forms refer to the original name of Cambridge itself; the fact being that the application of it to the village *now* so called is due to an absurd mistake.

In a passage in Lysons' Hist. of Cambridgeshire, p. 202, it is noted that Walter de Merton gave to Merton College, Oxford,

a certain "manerium de *Grauntesethe*"; and it has often, I believe, been pointed out that this form relates to the modern Grantchester. Such is the fact; for *-sethe* is merely a Normanised form of *-sete*, which represents the A.S. *sǣte*, "settlers." Mr Foster has noted the spellings *Grantecete* (1284), *Gransete* (1302), *Graunsete* (1428), in F.A., 137, 146, 194. I find in Domesday Book *Granteseta, Grantesete*; and *Grenteseta* in I.C.C., p. 70. In 1285, I find the spelling *Granzete* (In. p. m.), with the Norman *z* for *ts*, representing *Grantsete*. It is clear that the old name of the village now called Grantchester originally meant "settlers beside the Granta"; and appeared as *Graunsete* (variant of *Gran-set-ë*, in three syllables) as late as 1428. But at a later date, an *r* was added, turning the form which should have been shortened to *Granset* into a new form *Granceter* (by confusion with such forms as Exeter, Wroxeter, and the like). This form *Granceter* will be found in Speed's map of Cambridgeshire (C. A. S. Proceedings, No. xlv. 1905, p. 113) dated 1620, and in Camden's map dated 1626 (p. 116). But in Morden's map dated 1701 (p. 129) we find the spelling *Granchester*, after which the *n* became *nt*, and the transformation was complete[1]. It is an instance of meddling pedantry.

Dike. This has already occurred in the name Ditton. I find in Conybeare's Cambridgeshire, p. 14, a reference to the Brand Ditch, the Brent Ditch, the Fleam Dike, and the Devil's Dike. The explanation of the names Brand and Brent, as meaning "burnt," is incorrect. The fact is that Brand Ditch clearly stands for Brant Ditch, the *t* followed by *d* becoming *d* by assimilation. And Brant is a mere variety of Brent; both words mean "steep," and are explained in the New English Dictionary. The reference is to the remarkably steep sides of the dikes. The phrase "highe bonkkes and brent," i.e. "high and steep banks," occurs in Sir Gawain and the Grene Knight, l. 2165; and Ascham, in his Toxophilus (ed. Arber, p. 58) speaks of "a brante hyll-syde." The A.S. for "burnt" never takes the form *brent*, which is merely Middle English.

[1] This matter was thoroughly explained in my paper entitled "Grantchester and Cambridge," published for the Society in Vol. xiv. p. 111 of the Communications.

Neither has the FLEAM DIKE any connexion with "flame," which is a foreign word, unknown in England before 1300. There is a Cambridgeshire hundred, called FLENDISH, which is merely a variant of the same word. The old spellings (P.R., F.A.) are *Flemedich* (1158), *Flemesdich* (1284), *Flemdiche* (1302, 1401). By the action of the *d* on the preceding *m*, the last became *Flendiche* in 1428; and the latter syllable was turned into *-dish* at a still later date. *Diche* is, of course, our modern *ditch*, a mere variant of *dike*; see the New English Dictionary. And it is obvious that the Mid. Eng. *Fleme* is, in modern E., *Fleam*. The spellings in Domesday Book present a startling variation. It gives the name of the hundred as *Flamingdice* and *Flamiding* or *Flammiding*. The latter forms are obviously incorrect, and due to putting the *ng* in the wrong syllable when attempting to pronounce the word; the right form is clearly *Flaming-dice*, where *dice* is the Norman spelling of *diche*, the M.E. form of *ditch*. Cf. also *Flamencdic*, *Flammcndic*, in I.C.C. Hence the original form of the prefix was certainly *Flamenc* in the time of the Conqueror. This word is not A.S., but O.Fr. *Flamenc*, represented by the Late Lat. *Flamingus*, a Fleming. Ducange quotes an example from a French document dated 1036, or thirty years before the Conquest; and the Old Norse form *Flæmingi* is given in Vigfusson[1]. Why it received this name, we have of course no means of knowing. The subsequent change to *Fleam Dike* was probably due to popular etymology, which connected the name with the A.S. *flēam*, flight, and *flīema*, a fugitive; as if it were the dike of fugitives or of refuge. It is certainly curious that, on a visit to the Fleam Dike, I met with an inhabitant of the neighbourhood who wished me to understand that the dike had been made by the Flemings; so that the tradition of the name in Domesday Book is remembered even at the present day. The spelling *Flemigdich* (error for *Flemingdich*) appears as late as 1279, in the Hundred Rolls, ii. 445.

HALE. The suffix *-hale* occurs only in *Yen Hall*, formerly Enhale, and in *Mep-hale*, the old spelling of Mepal in F.A., in

[1] The Ramsey Chartulary mentions a Robert le Flemming.

1302, 1337, 1346, 1428, and much later. The word *hale*, "a corner, nook, a secret place," is fully explained in the New Eng. Dictionary; from *heale, hale,* dat. of A.S. *healh,* Old Mercian *halh,* "a haugh," a derivative from the second grade of A.S. *helan,* to hide. We may here explain it by "retreat."

MEPAL. In this form, the prefix *Mep-* is probably personal. It occurs again in *Mep-ham,* Kent; of which the A.S. forms are *Mēapa-hām, Mēaphām*; see Kemble's Index. The *ēa* is long, because short *ea* does not occur between an *m* and a *p*. There is no further trace of it. *Mēapa* looks like a genitive plural, as if *Mēapas* was the name of a tribe.

ENHALE. This is an old parish which, as I am informed, has been absorbed into West Wickham[1]; and the only trace of the name is that a *Yen Hall* still exists there. However, the spelling *Enhale* occurs in 1279 (Hund. Rolls, vol. ii.), in 1302 and 1346 (F.A. 145, 163); and *Enhall* in 1316 (F.A. 155). The A.S. form is *Ean-heale* (dative) in Birch, Cart. Sax. iii. 629, in connexion with Wratting, Wickham, and Balsham. The *Ea* in *Ean-* must be long. I can only suggest that this prefix is short for *Ēanan* (see Birch, Cart. Sax. ii. 296, l. 10), gen. of *Ēana,* a known pet-name. The sense is "Eana's retreat."

HIRN. The suffix *-hirn* occurs only in GUY-HIRN, and presents no difficulty. It is the word *hern* or *hirn,* "a corner, nook, or hiding-place," fully explained in the New Eng. Dictionary, at p. 245 of the letter H. The A.S. form is *hyrne.* The name *Guy* is not A.S., but Norman; so that the village dates from after the Norman Conquest. The sense is "Guy's retreat." The Ramsey Chartulary mentions twenty men of this name.

LODE. This important word denotes a water-course, and represents the A.S. *lād,* a way, course, especially a water-course; and is the word from which the verb *to lead* is derived. We have examples in Bottisham Lode, Swaffham Bulbeck Lode,

[1] "Enhale est hamelett' pertin' ad Wycham"; Rot. Hundred. ii. 429.

and others. It occurs also in the place-name *Ox-lode*, near Downham, which is probably not a word of great antiquity, as it never seems to be mentioned.

PORT. This occurs in LITTLEPORT, which is found in Domesday Book as *Litelport*. The force of the prefix is obvious. The A.S. *port* is merely borrowed from Latin, and has two distinct senses. In the first instance, it represents Lat. *porta*, a gate, which is of rare occurrence. Otherwise (as doubtless here) it represents Lat. *portus*; and it meant not only a port or haven, but also a town. See *port* in Toller's A.S. Dictionary. In early times, the sea not only came up to Littleport, but even further south. In The Fenland, p. 576, we read:—"Once the mouth of the Ouse was at Littleport."

RETH. This suffix occurs in SHEP-RETH and MELD-RETH; but not in *Aldreth*, which is to be divided as *Aldr-eth* (see p. 34). *Meld-reth* is to be thus divided, because the old spelling of *Melbourn* is *Melde-bourne*, with the same prefix *Meld-*, the two places lying close together. It is quite true that the spelling *Melrede*, without *d*, occurs in Domesday Book; but the same authority gives us *Melleburne* for the A.S. *Meldeburne*, and the loss of the *d* after *l* is regular in Anglo-French, which actually has such spellings as *hel* for E. *held*, and *shel* for M.E. *sheld*, E. *shield*, as in the Lay of Havelok. Besides which, I.C.C. has the true form *Meldrethe* in full. The form *Meldeburn* occurs as late as in Fuller's Worthies. The Domesday spelling of *Shepreth* is nothing short of comic, being *Escep-ride*; where we note the Norman inability to sound the A.S. *sc* (E. *sh*) without prefixing an *e*, and the equal inability to pronounce the E. *th*, as is shown still more clearly in I.C.C., which has the spelling *Scepereie* (with the *th* suppressed). In 1302 and 1316 we find the form *Scheperethe* (Feudal Aids); so also in In. p. m.

I do not accept the suggestion that *-reth* represents the A.S. *rīð* or *rīðe*, a stream, a word still extant, in the form *rithe*, in the South of England. For the final *th* in this word was usually dropped, as in Shottery, A.S. *Scotta-rīð*, Childrey, A.S. *Cilla-rīð*. And further, the A.S. *ī* is never represented by M.E.

e, and we really must pay some regard to our vowels, instead of pursuing the slovenly habit of the antiquarians of the last century, who disregarded all vowel-sounds with supreme indifference, chiefly because they wanted to guess with the greater freedom.

I take it to be the unaccented form of our common word *wreath*, with the sense of "enclosure for cattle," as formerly in Scotch; see the E.D.D. The A.S. *wrǣð*, also *wrǣd*, means a wreath, a ring (as, for instance, a crown or neck-ornament); also, a bandage; hence, as above, a fence of twisted or wreathed hurdles. And if this be admitted, we at once have a suffix with much the same sense as the Friesian *hamm*, an enclosure. This at once explains the connexion with *Shep-*, which obviously represents *sheep*, as in the compound *shepherd*. In the case of *Meld-reth*, the old spelling of *Melbourne*, viz. the late A.S. *Meldeburne* (in I.C.C. and in Kemble's Index) shows that the prefix is *Melde*. This represents an earlier form *Meldan*, gen. of the pet-name *Melda*, which occurs in *Meldan-īge* (Kemble). There is also an A.S. *melda* which means "an informer."

I conclude that Shepreth and Meldreth mean, respectively, "sheep-enclosure" and "Melda's enclosure."

WARE. This occurs in UPWARE, on the river Granta (Cam), between Waterbeach and Ely; which is spelt *Upwere* in 1349, in the Pedes Finium, ed. W. Rye. Here *up* means "above," with reference to its situation with respect to those who bestowed the name; and *ware*, M.E. *were*, is another form of *weir*, which was often used in a rather vague way. It not only signified a weir or dam, but also a mill-pool, or, more generally, any fishing-pool where there was hardly any perceptible flow of water. For example, where our Prayer-book version of Ps. cvii. 35 has "he maketh the wilderness a standing water," the Vulgate version has *stagna*, and the Early English Psalter published by the Surtees Society has *weres of watres*. Compare the passage in the Laud MS. of the A.S. Chronicle, under the date 656, where there is mention of "wateres and meres and fennes and *weres*," i.e. waters and meres, and fens and weirs. As to the spelling *ware* for *weir*, see Miss Jackson's Shropshire

Glossary. I suppose Upware to mean "upper pool"; and that a *ware* or *weir* differs from a natural pool as having been caused artificially by the construction of a dam and being well adapted for catching fish. Thus in the Inquisitio Eliensis, p. 190, we read:—"Hec sunt piscaria monachorum elyensium: Gropwere, Chydebeche, Fridai, Bramewere, Vttrewere [Outer-weir], Landwere, Burringewere,...Biwere [By-weir], Northwere, &c."

§ 10. The suffixes beach, bourn, den, down, ea or ey, fen, field, heath, lea, mere, pool, wade.

Besides the suffixes relating to occupation or artificial works, we find others relating to natural objects, such as *beach, bourn, den, down, ea* or *ey* (island), *fen, field, heath, lea, mere, over* (bank), *wade*. These will now be considered in order.

Beach. As in Landbeach, Waterbeach, and Wisbeach. *Beach* is a difficult word, for which the N.E.D. should be consulted. There is no doubt that it often means "shingle"; and on this account the authors of The Fenland Past and Present have raised the objection that there is no shingle to be found at Waterbeach; and so they refer us to the A.S. *bec*, or *becc*, a beck, or river. This, however, is quite useless, for two reasons; the first is, that *beck* is not in use in Cambridgeshire, but belongs to Lincolnshire and the Northern counties; and the other is that the A.S. *bec*, which is unauthorised, is merely a borrowed word from Norse, and never appears in a palatalised form, such as *betch*; and even if it did, *betch* is not the same thing as *beach*. The objection, however, is of no consequence, because *beach* certainly has also the vaguer sense of bank or strand or shore, which is obviously what is here intended[1]. Waterbeach stood upon the old shore of the estuary of the Wash, and Landbeach merely differed from it in being a little further inland. There is no doubt the reason why the names given in Domesday Book are, respectively, *Bech* (or

[1] There was a name *Cheselbeche* in 1617 (Fenland, p. 206). *Chesel* means "shingle" (see N.E.D.); and *Cheselbeche* means "shingle-shore," not "shingle-shingle" or "shingle-beck." *Waterbeche* occurs in 1279 (Hund. Rolls).

Bece) and *Utbech*; i.e. Beach as representing Waterbeach, and *Utbech*, i.e. Out-beach, signifying a place a little further from the water; (unless, indeed, the contrary be intended, for 'out' is somewhat vague)[1]. It is unfortunate that Bosworth's Dictionary gives, as the sole example of *bec*, a river, a different form *bæc*, which must have meant a valley or a river-bank, closely related to *bæcc* (as in *Bæcceswyrth*, Batchworth, in the Crawford Charters); of which the palatalised form *bache* exists in provincial English and in Middle English, as well as in place-names, such as Pulverbatch in Salop. This is the word, in fact, with which *beach* is much more likely to be connected; the usual sense of *bache*[2] being simply valley. It seems likely that the original sense of *beach* was a shore or river-bank, on which in some cases stones were deposited, giving it a secondary sense of pebbles or shingle. In the instances of Landbeach, Waterbeach, and Wisbeach, we may content ourselves with the simpler sense of "shore."

WISBEACH. We have here to consider the prefix. We find the form *Wisebeche* in a late copy of a charter; Kemble, Cod. Dipl. v. 4, where the spelling is Norman. Again, in the Laud MS. of the A.S. Chronicle, an. 656, we find *Wisebece*, where *bece* is not the dat. of the alleged A.S. *bec*(*c*), a river, but is a Norman spelling of *bæce*, the dat. of *bæc*, as explained above. The Norman scribes very soon expunged *æ* from the alphabet, substituting for it sometimes *a* and sometimes *e*, because the sound of the A.S. *æ* (modern Southern English *a* in *cat*) lay somewhere between the French *a* and *e*. *Wise* (pronounced as *wissy*) is, apparently, another spelling of *Ūse* (Ouse), which also appears as *Wuse*; for which see the A.S. Chronicle. When the Norman scribes introduced the French *ou* for the A.S. *ū*, the spelling became *Ouse*; and has so remained ever since. The form *Wis-* was sometimes prefixed to the A.S. *ēa*, Mid. Eng. *ee*, a stream, giving the form *Wis-ee* (Ouse-stream), now turned

[1] I observe, in Domesday Book, a mention of *mille anguillarum* in connexion with *Bech* and *Bece*, which suggests that it was near the water.

[2] I have heard it called *baich*, and have seen it spelt *baitch*, which agrees exactly with the old pronunciation of *beach*.

into *Wissey*, and still in use as the name of an affluent of the Ouse near Hilgay. The Ouse once flowed past Wisbeach (see The Fenland, p. 82); but our modern maps call the river the Nene.

Bourn, a small river; as in Bourne, Bassingbourn, Fulbourn, Melbourn. From A.S. *burn*. The place now called Bourne was originally called by the Norse name Brunne (Norw. *brunn*), of which the English *bourne* was a later translation. It appears as *Brune* in Domesday Book, and as *Brunne* in 1171, 1190, 1194, and 1210, in which last year *Burne* also occurs (R.B.).

Bassing-bourn. The old spellings do not materially differ; *Bassingeburne* occurs in the Chronicle of Ramsey Abbey. *Bassing* is a tribal name; the name *Bass* occurs in the A.S. Chronicle, under the date 669. In I.C.C. we find *Basingeburna*. It means "bourn of the Bassings."

Fulbourn. Domesday Book has *Fuleberne*, an error for *Fuleborne*; cf. *Fuleburna* in I.C.C. In Kemble, Cod. Dipl. iv. 245, a late copy of a charter of 1060, the spelling is *Fuulburne*. The prefix represents the A.S. *fūl*, modern E. *foul*, dirty or turbid. For other instances of the use of the same prefix, see Kemble's Index.

Melbourn. Spelt *Meldeburna* in Kemble, Cod. Dipl. iii. 60. *Melde* represents *Meldan*, gen. case of *Melda*, a personal name, as shown under Meldreth (p. 44). It means "Melda's bourn."

-den.

With the suffix *-den*, we find Croydon or Crawden, Gransden; also Eversden, Guilden Morden, and Steeple Morden, in which *-den* has been substituted for *-don*.

Den is a variant of *dene* or *dean*, a vale; see *Dean* (2) in the New Eng. Dictionary, where examples of the form *den* are given. The A.S. form is *denu*.

Croydon is a comparatively modern form; the older form was *Crawden*. I find *Crauden* in Fuller's Worthies; and Mr Foster notes *Craudene* in F.A., viz. in 1302, 1346, 1428,

and *Croudene* (= *Crowdene*) in 1316; the Ramsden Chartulary has *Crouedene*, and Domesday Book has *Crauuedene*, with *uu* for *w*, whence *Craweden* in 1238 (Pedes Finium). *Crawe* represents the A.S. *crāwan*, gen. of the weak fem. sb. *crāwe*, a crow, which also occurs as a female name. The sense is "Crow's vale." In Kemble's Index we find eleven examples of the form *crāwan*. The *Croy-* in Croyland is a different word; as the A.S. name was *Crūwland* or *Crūland*.

EVERSDEN. Spelt *Everes-dene* in 1316 (F.A. i. 157), but *Eversdone* in 1302 (F.A. i. 149), *Everesdon* in 1291 (Taxatio Eccles. p. 266); *Auresdone* in Domesday Book. In I.C.C. it is *Euueresdona*. Hence the suffix was really *-don*, not *-den*. The A.S. form would be *Eofores-dūn*, where *Eofores* is the gen. case of *Eofor*, a personal name of which the literal sense, like that of the Ger. *eber*, is "a boar." The name occurs in Bēowulf; in fact, the gen. case *Eofores* will be found in l. 2486. Compare Eversley (Hants.); i.e. "boar's lea." It may be noted that the substitution of *-den* for *-don* is later than A.D. 1300.

GRANSDEN. Formerly *Grantesdene*, in 1210 (R.B.), and 1316 (F.A. i. 157); in 1393, the form is *Grandesden* (Ely Registers); after which the *d* dropped out, giving the modern form. The *s* seems to have been a later insertion, as we find the form *Grentedene* in a copy of a charter made after the Conquest; Kemble, Cod. Dipl. iv. 245, and again in the Cartularium Monasterii de Rameseia. Domesday Book has *Gratedene*, with *n* omitted; it is *Grantendene* in I.C.C. This is an Anglo-French spelling, representing an A.S. form *Grante-denu*, *Granta-denu*, or *Grantan-denu*. The sense is "vale of the Granta": and is interesting as showing that there was a second Granta in the same county; for the stream which passes near Little and Great Gransden is an affluent of the Ouse at a point near St Neot's, and distinct from the Granta which flows through Cambridge.

MORDEN. The spelling *Mordene* occurs in 1236 and later (R.B.); but we also find *Mordone* in 1166, *Mordune* in 1210 (R.B.), *Mordune* in I.C.C. and in Domesday Book. If these

latter spellings are correct, the right form is *Mordon*, answering to A.S. *Mōr-dūn*, lit. "moor-down." Supposing, however, that *Morden* were correct, the A.S. form would be *Mōr-denu*, lit. "moor-valley"; with reference to the small stream which passes near the two Mordens. But the early evidence in favour of the etymology from *down* can be supplemented, and is quite conclusive[1]. *Mor-* occurs in a great many places, and is the shortened form of A.S. *mōr*, a moor; the vowel being shortened, as usual, when followed by two consonants. Compare such forms as Morley and Morton, and particularly the form Westmorland, i.e. "West moorland." There are two Mordens; Guilden Morden and Steeple Morden. The latter was no doubt named from having a church with a conspicuous steeple. The epithet *Guilden* is less clear. It is worth noticing that there is a Sutton in Cheshire called *Guilden Sutton*; with the same epithet. It is spelt *Gildene* in 1316, and *Gyldene* in 1346 (F.A. i. 156, 171); but also *Gilden* (without final *e*) in 1342 (Ely Registers), and *Gylden* in 1302 (F.A.). As to what it means, I can only give a guess; the form would accurately represent the A.S. *gyldena*, gen. pl. of *gylda*, a guild-brother; as if it were "the Morden of the guild-brothers"; but this requires confirmation by the help of historical research. Whatever be the explanation, it must satisfy the case of the Cheshire village also, which is a very small place, having less than 200 inhabitants. In a Hist. of Cambs., dated 1851, it is stated that the manor of this Morden was held by four owners conjointly; which perhaps explains it. Cf. Guildford.

The above solution is strongly supported by the spellings *Geldenemordon* (1255) and *Guldenemordon* (1317), found in the Index to the Charters and Rolls; for *geldene*, *guldene* point to the A.S. *gyldena* as their origin.

Down, -don.

Down, from the A.S. *dūn*, is a flattened hill, and well known. We have already had an example in Downham. It is naturally rare as a suffix in our flat county; but we have an

[1] Morden in Surrey is likewise a corruption of Mordon (Crawford Charters).

example in WHADDON, as well as in Morden (rightly Mordon), and likewise in Eversden, as shown above; p. 49. The first is spelt *Whaddone* in 1302 (F.A. i. 150); but, as the Norman scribes usually substituted *w* for *wh*, we find also *Waddon* in 1210 (R.B.), and *Wadone*, *Wadune* in Domesday Book. The astonishing form *Phwaddune* (with *Phw* for *Wh*) occurs in I.C.C., p. 107, and is highly significant. There are two other Whaddons, and a Waddon in Surrey, all derived from the same form, viz. A.S. *Hwæte-dūn*, lit. "wheat-down." This form, *Hwæte-dun*, occurs in an early and genuine will, of the ninth century; see Birch, Cart. Saxon. ii. 196; and the M.E. *Whatdon* occurs in 1287, in the Abbreviatio Rotulorum, p. 55. Kemble identifies Hwætedūn with *Wotton* in Surrey, and Earle follows him, in the index to his Land Charters, p. 495. But the identification will suit Waddon (in Surrey) equally well, and even better. The identification with Wotton is obviously based on the fact that Hwætedūn is mentioned in connection with Gatton in the same county; but Gatton is ten miles (in direct distance) from Wotton, whereas from Waddon it is only eight; and *Wotton* would be better explained as being equivalent to *Wootton*; from *wood* and *town*. Observe, further, that when a word ending in a consonant is compounded with a second that begins with one, the second consonant remains unaltered. *Cupboard* is not pronounced as *cuppoard*, but as *cubboard*; so that Whaddon must always have ended in *-don* or *-dūn*, just as Wotton has always ended in *-ton* or *-tun*.

-EA AND -EY.

We have some place-names ending in *-ea*, as Anglesea, Estrea, Horningsea, Manea, Stonea, Whittlesea; one in *-ay*, as Barw-ay; and some in *-ey*, as Coveney, Ramsey, Stuntney, Swavesey, Thorney, and Welney; to which we may add Wendy, ending in *-y*; but not Ely. At the same time we may consider such names as Gamlingay, Lingay, and Shengay. A careful survey of these words shows that in no case does the suffix represent the A.S. *ēa*, a stream (which became *ee*), but only its

derivative *ēg* or *īg*, an island. Of these forms *īg* is the usual Wessex form, represented in later times by a simple final *-y*, while *ēg* is the O. Mercian and Northumbrian form, and *ey* (if old) is Norse. In Cambs. the form *ēg* prevailed, represented by *-ea*, *-ey*, *-ay*, *-y*; the examples with *-y* are Wendy, and Coveny as a variant of Coveney. See *Island* in the New Eng. Dictionary. As the original sense of *ēg* or *īg* was simply "watery," it came to mean any land wholly or to a great extent surrounded by water; often, no doubt, a piece of land wholly or nearly surrounded by a river and smaller affluents; or any piece of somewhat isolated land lying close to a stream.

In the map which accompanies the book named 'The Fenland, Past and Present,' by Miller and Skertchly, it will be seen that the following places are marked as situate on what were formerly distinct islands:—Manea, Stonea, Whittlesea, Coveney, Stuntney, Thorney, Barway (or Barraway), and the isle of Ely. And it may be noticed that Waterbeach is represented as being situate on the old shore of the Wash, whilst Landbeach is further inland. Horningsea lay between the Wash and the Granta. Anglesea Abbey was close to the old shore of the Wash, to the N.E. of Stow-cum-Quy.

Anglesea. A priory of Augustinian Canons was founded at Anglesea (or Anglesey) in the time of Henry I. Lit. "the isle of the Angle," with reference to an individual. This use is rare, as the word is almost invariably used in the plural. But the gen. plural is *Ængla* or *Engla*, and the "land of the Angles" is *Engla-land* or England. See *Angle* in the New English Dictionary. The A.S. nom. pl. is *Engle*, so that the addition of an *s* never occurred in the plural at all. The early spelling *Angleseye* occurs in 1270 (Cat. Ancient Deeds); cf. *Anglesheye* in the Hundred Rolls, ii. 360.

Barway. So in the Ordnance map (it is near Little Thetford); but Barraway in the Fenland map. The suffix simulates the word *way*, but the right division is *Barw-ay* or *Barraw-ay*. This is shown both by the fact that it was once an island, and by the old spellings. We find *Berewey* in 1316

(F.A.), but *Bergheye* in the time of Henry III (R.B.), and *Bergeye* in 1155 (R.B.); also the Latinised forms *Bergeia, Berheia, Bercheia* (Pipe Rolls). It is obviously derived from the O. Merc. *berh*, A.S. *beorh*, a hill, mound, and O. Merc. *ēg* (A.S. *īg*), an island. If we spell it *Barrow-ey*, the etymology becomes clearer, as the A.S. *beorh* is now *barrow*. See *Barrow*, a mound, in the New Eng. Dictionary.

COVENEY, COVENY. The Latinised form *Coueneia* occurs in a footnote at p. 270 of Kemble, Cod. Dipl. vol. iv. The Ramsey Chartulary has *Coveneye* or *Coveneie*. The prefix *Couen* represents the A.S. *Cufan*, gen. case of *Cufa*, a well-authenticated personal name. The suffix is O. Merc. *ēg*, A.S. *īg*.

ELY. Spelt *Elig* in Kemble's edition of the Charters in many instances; but *Helig* in a late paper copy of a charter of A.D. 957; see Birch, Cart. Saxon. iii. 196—7. There can be no doubt that the name has very long been understood, by a popular etymology, to mean "isle of eels," a name which is quite appropriate; but this would require a usual spelling *ælēg* (*ælīg*), a form which never occurs but once, as noted below. In fact the spelling in Beda, Hist. Eccl. iv. 19, is *Elge*; see the ed. by Mayor and Lumby, p. 127, l. 30, and p. 130, l. 20. The best MS. of the early A.S. translation has the spellings *Elige* and *Elia lond*; see the ed. by T. Miller (E.E.T.S.), p. 318, l. 10, and p. 320, l. 5. We find, at p. 318—"in þǣm *þēodlonde* þe is gecēged Elige," lit. in the *tribe-land* that is called Elige; but this translates the Latin *regione*. It seems quite certain, in any case, that there was no allusion to "island" in the original name. The various readings are very remarkable; for *Elige*, other readings are *Lige* and *Hélige*, and one MS. (not older than the Conquest) has *él ég* [*ǣg* = *ēg*], i.e. 'eel-island,' showing that the popular interpretation had already affected the English name at that date.

If, however, we go back to Beda's spelling *El-ge*, we see that it represents the O. Northumbrian *ēl-gē*, i.e. "district of eels," where *ēl* is the later A.S. *él*, "eel," and *gē* is the very rare early equivalent of the G. *Gau* (see Kluge, Etym. Dict., s.v.

Gau). This agrees sufficiently with Beda's explanation :—"Est autem Elge...*regio*...in similitudinem insulae uel paludibus, ut diximus, circumdata uel aquis, unde et a copia *anguillarum* quae in eisdem paludibus capiuntur nomen accepit." See H. M. Chadwick's Studies in Old English, § 5.

We thus see that the original sense was "eel-region," altered to "eel-island," by popular etymology, when the form *gē* became obsolete, perhaps in the tenth century.

I copy the following useful note from The Fenland, Past and Present, p. 63.

The boundaries of the Isle of Ely are thus described in Sprott's Chronicle, published by Hearne[1]. "At *Erhithbridge* begins one entrance into the Island, which extends as far as *Sotton Grove*, and so at *Mephale*, and so at *Wychombrigge*, and so at *Ely Dounhom*[2], and so at *Littleport*[2], and so at the Town of *Ely*, and so at Haveryngmere, and so at *Stratham Lode*, and so at Andlong[2] Wesche, on the south side of the island, and so at Alderhethbrigge, and so at Erhithbregge. These are the entrances into the island, one at *Littleport*[2], another at *Stonteneyebrigge*, the third at Alderhithebregge, the fourth at Erhithbregge."

Eastrea, Estrea. Quite a different word from *Eastry* in Kent; for which see the forms in Sweet, O.E. Texts, p. 611. It is probably the *Estrey* mentioned in a spurious charter in Birch, Cart. Sax. iii. 438, l. 5. The prefix is A.S. *ēastra*, lit. "more to the east"; it is just due east of *Whittles-ea*, also once an island. There is also a *Westry Farm*, to the west of the road leading northwards from March.

Horningsea. Spelt *Horningesie* in Domesday Book, and *Horningeseie* (Norman spelling) in I.C.C. and in Kemble, Cod. Dipl. iv. 245. For A.S. *Horninges-ēg*, "isle of Horning." *Horning* is a patronymic, and the name *Horn* is known; indeed, there is a "Lay of King Horn" extant both in French and English.

[1] Th. Sprotti Chronica; ed. T. Hearne, Oxon. 1719; p. 199. I correct a few spellings.

[2] Hearne prints *Donnhom*, *Litteport*, *Andlong*; Miller has *Audlong*.

MANEA. I find no old spelling; but the suffix means "isle," as in the other instances; for it was once a complete island. The prefix probably represents the A.S. *Mannan*, gen. case of *Manna*, a name which occurs in the A.S. Chronicle, under the date 921. Cf. A.S. *manna*, a man, a sb. of the weak declension, by-form of *mann*, a man, of which the gen. is *mannes*. Compare such place-names as Man-ley and Man-ton; and note that *Manning* was a tribal name, as in Manningford, Manningham, and Manningtree. The sense is "Manna's isle."

[I take this opportunity of making a note on the name RAMSEY, as so many illustrations have been taken from the Ramsey Chartulary; though it is just out of our county, in Hunts. We find, on excellent authority, that this name has lost an initial *h*. It is spelt *Hrames-ēge* (dative) in Ælfhelm's Will; Kemble, Cod. Dipl. iv. 300; Thorpe, Diplom. p. 598, l. 10. This shows that the prefix is not our modern E. *ram*, but the A.S. *hrœm*, variant of *hrœmn* or *hrafn*, a raven, whence the mod. E. *raven* is derived. The sense is "Raven's isle"; but whether *Raven* was a bird's name or a man's, we cannot certainly say. The latter is more probable; the former is possible. The same prefix occurs in *Hremmesden*, now *Ramsdean*, Hants., according to Kemble; but I cannot find this Ramsdean in the map.]

STONEA. Of this name I find no record; but the prefix is obviously the A.S. *stān*, M.E. *stoon*, modern E. *stone*; with reference (I suppose) to the soil. It means "stone-isle."

STUNTNEY. Spelt *Stuntenei* in Domesday Book, *Stunteneie* in I.C.C.; which affords the clue. *Stunten* represents the A.S. *stuntan*, gen. of *stunta*, weak form of *stunt*, foolish. *Stunta* means "a foolish person," evidently a nickname. In Matt. v. 22, where the A.V. has "thou fool," the A.S. version has "*ðū stunta*." It means "Stunta's isle."

SWAVESEY. Spelt *Suauiseye* in 1266 (Pedes Finium); *Swavsey* in 1316, *Swaveseye* in 1346, and *Swafsey* in the same year (F.A. i. 152, 166—8); *Svavesye* in Domesday Book. The A.S. prefix is *Swǽfes*, gen. of *Swǽf*; a personal name which

occurs again in *Swaffham*. As the *æ* was originally long, it must have been shortened, as in *Swaffham*, and afterwards again lengthened. Otherwise, the modern name would have been *Swevesey*. The process is not uncommon. The A.S. *Swæf* is a most interesting word, as it originally meant one of the tribe called in Latin *Suēui*, mentioned both by Cæsar and Tacitus, and now called Swabians. The A.S. *æ* answers to Ger. *ā*, and to a primitive Germanic *ē*, so that the vowel preserved in Latin is the original one.

Thorney. Spelt *Thorneia* in 1169 (Pipe Rolls), *Torneya* in 1158, and *Torny* in Domesday Book. Cf. A.S. *Þornīg*; Kemble, Cod. Dipl. iii. 102. The spelling with *T* is, of course, Anglo-French, and due to the inability of many Normans to pronounce the E. *th*. The derivation is obvious; from A.S. *thorn*, a thorn-bush. Another Thorney is celebrated as being the site of Westminster Abbey; it is described in a spurious charter as being a "locus terribilis"; Birch, Cart. Sax. i. 339.

Welney, Welny, near Wisbech. I find no old spelling; but the derivation is obvious, viz. from *wellan ēg*, or *wellan īg*, "isle of the well," apparently because it stood beside a stream called the *Wellan-ēa*, or "well-stream" (later spelling *wellen-he = wellen-ee*, in the Ramsey Chartulary) and afterwards Well Creek; see The Fenland, pp. 7, 189, 209. Here *wellan* is the gen. of A.S. *wylle* or *welle*; see *wille* in the A.S. Dictionary. The dat. *wellan* occurs in Kemble, Cod. Dipl. iii. 206; and the dat. and gen. cases of weak substantives are identical in form.

Wendy. Formerly *Wendye* (1316), *Wendeye* (1346), in F.A. i. 157, 172; *Wandei* and *Wandrie* in Domesday Book. The form *Wandrie* is remarkable; but is shown to be corrupt by comparison with I.C.C., which has the correct form *Wendeie*. The variation of the vowel in *Wendeie*, *Wandei*, points to the A.S. *æ*. Hence we can hardly be wrong in identifying the prefix with the A.S. *Wændan*, occurring in the place-name *Wændan-meres*, which actually appears as *Wendan* in *Wendan-beorges* in the very next line of the same genuine and early

charter (A.D. 956). See Birch, Cart. Saxon. iii. 106, ll. 1 and 2. *Wendan* is the gen. case of *Wenda*, a known personal name. The sense is "Wenda's island."

WHITTLESEA. Spelt *Witleseye* in 1389 (Conybeare's Cambs., p. 147); *Witleseye* in 1394 (Ely Registers); *Witesie* (which is corrupt) in Domesday Book; for Anglo-French, like modern French, dislikes the combination *tl*. However, the same authority has also the correct form *Witeles-ford*; and I.C.C. has *Witleseie*. In the late copy of the A.S. Chronicle we find *Witles-mere* under the year 656, in a late and spurious charter; but the spelling is Norman. In the Charters, we find an allusion to "insulam quae *Witlesig* nuncupatur"; Kemble, Cod. Dipl. iii. 101, and *Witlesmere* occurs on the same page. This at any rate proves that Whittlesea was then considered to be an island. Again, we find "stagni quod dicitur *Witlesmere*"; Cod. Dipl. iii. 93, 101; and the forms *Witleseye*, *Witlesmere*, in the Ramsey Chartulary. But all these exhibit Norman spellings, and furnish no clear proof that the word originally began with *W* rather than *Hw*. On the other hand, the *Wh-* is generally correctly used in local names; and if so, we may derive the prefix from an A.S. form **Hwītel*, diminutive of a name commencing with *Hwīt*, lit. "white." If the initial had been originally *W*, we might take *witles* to be the genitive of A.S. *witol*, an adjective with the sense of "wise," derived from *witan*, to know, and employed as a nickname or epithet; compare *Stuntney* above.

It is further evident, that the modern name Whittlesea-mere is unoriginal. The true name is simply *Whittles-mere*. And of course the drainage of the fens has left but little trace of it. Moreover, it was not situate within our county, but near Yaxley in Huntingdonshire. See The Fenland, by Miller and Skertchley, p. 162, for a map of it as it existed in 1824.

GAMLINGAY. It is hardly possible to discuss this name without raising the question as to how it is to be divided; i.e. whether the suffix is *-gay* or *-ay*.

After some consideration of the question, I think it must be taken along with other difficult place-names of a like character; and we have first of all to enquire, whether such a suffix as *-gay* is possible in Old English. My belief is that it is not; for no such word is to be found either in English or in Norse, nor yet in Norman. I am aware that it has been proposed to derive the suffix *-gay* from the German *gau*; but it is now well ascertained that we did not borrow words from Old High German, still less from the German of the present day. And it has been shown above, under ELY, that the equivalent of the G. *gau* is the Anglian *gē* (with *g* = E. *y*). The proposal is, of course, preposterous. Neither did we borrow it from Norse, because, although the change of *au* to *ey*, by means of mutation, is regular in Norse, it so happens that the equivalent of the German *gau* was never at any time in use in any Scandinavian language. And not even Norse can lend a word which it does not possess.

Another bad guess has been made as to the name *Bungay*, which we are gravely told is from the French *bon gué*, "a good ford." But surely *gué* is mere modern French; the Norman form was *wet* or *guet*, and even in the form *guet* the *gu* was pronounced as *gw* (according to Gaston Paris). It is a desperate guess to resort to mispronouncing Norman for the purpose of forcing an etymology which is so much more likely to have been of English or Norse origin; neither is it necessary. The origin of Bungay presents no difficulty if we divide it rightly and consider its geographical position. It is best explained by considering the parallel case of Durham. Durham is, as is well known, a Norman travesty of the Old English name *Dūn-holm*, i.e. hill-island, or rather, hill-peninsula, which describes it exactly. It is situate on a horse-shoe bend of the river Wear, and rises high above the water in a rounded knoll. The situation of Bungay is precisely similar, and it can be explained from the Icel. *bung-a*, a round elevation, and *ey*, an island or peninsula. The same word *bunga*, a round hill, is preserved in modern Norwegian, according to Ross.

It might be supposed that the suffix *-gay* is obvious in such cases as HILGAY and WORMEGAY; but the moment that we

come to examine their history, we find that the modern forms are contracted. The old spelling of the former is *Helingeye* in the Chronicle of Ramsey Abbey, and *Helingeheie* in I.C.C.; and we see in the prefix a tribal name in *-ing* (probably the tribe of the Hellings, represented by *Hellingley* in Sussex), so that the true suffix is *-eye*, an island, as in so many other cases. So also Wormegay was formerly *Wirmingai* (Red Book, index); i.e. *Wyrminga ēg*, or "isle of the Wyrmings." When we thus see that such names as Bungay and Hilgay and Wormegay[1], when fairly considered, are found to exhibit the suffix *-ay* (or *-ey*), an island, we may suspect that Gamlingay presents no exception to the general rule. The old spellings are *Gamelingeye* in 1211, and *Gamelingehey* in 1210 (R.B.). Hence the name can be explained at once, from a tribal name *Gamelingas*; and such is Kemble's explanation. He compares it with a *Gembling* in Yorkshire, which, however, I have not found. The Gamelings were the sons of Gamel, which is a well-authenticated name. The adjective *gamol*, meaning "old," occurs in Old English poetry, but is rather scarce, except in the earliest poems; most of the examples of it occur in Bēowulf. In Scandinavian, on the other hand, it has always been one of the commonest of words, where it has almost displaced the word "old" altogether. In Danish, for example, "an old horse" is *en gammel Hest*, and can be expressed in no other way. The singular *Gameling* was used as the name of an individual, but, as the Normans were unable to pronounce the final *ng* except by an effort, the name appears at a later date in the form *Gamelin* (as spelt in the Chronicle of Ramsey Abbey and in the celebrated *Tale of Gamelyn*), and still exists as *Gamlin* or *Gamlyn* or *Gamlen*.

The matter becomes easier to understand if we bear in mind that the final *ng* in A.S. (as in Old High German) was sounded like the *ng* in *finger*, not like the *ng* in *singer*. If we denote this sound by *ngg*, we see that the name was once sounded as *Gamelingga-ey*, shortened to *Gamelingg-ay*, and this at once explains the distinctness of the *g*-sound in the modern

[1] With the same prefix as in Worming-ford, Worming-hall, and Worming-ton.

word, and the tendency to throw it over, as it were, into the final syllable. See Sweet's History of English Sounds, § 550[1]. It is perhaps not quite easy, in this case, as it is in others, to see the applicability of the name. But there is a small stream to the south-east of the village, beyond which the ground rises for about forty feet in the course of half a mile; whilst to the west side the ground again declines towards the Ouse, which in the old days before the fens were drained must often have overflowed a considerable expanse of land. On this point, we have the express evidence of Prof. Babington, who tells us that in the neighbourhood of Gamlingay there were "extensive quaking bogs," in which certain fen-plants grew which can no longer be found there; and he supplies a list of them; see his Flora Cantabrigiensis, p. xix. If, as seems likely, it was thus somewhat isolated, which is all that is meant by the suffix *-ay*, it is not altogether the most southern example of places of this character; for I suppose that both Shingay and Wendy fall under the same category. Both of them lie between the Granta (or Cam) and small affluent streams. The sense of Gamelingay is, accordingly, "the isle of the sons of Gamel."

Shengay, or Shingay. The change from *en* to *in* is common in English, so that we at once know Shengay to be the older name. The spelling is *Shengey* in 1316 (F.A.); the suffix being probably *ey*, an island or peninsula. The mere fact that the name begins with *Sh* proves that it is English, and not Scandinavian or Norman. The above form is not old enough to explain its origin, but comparison with the name of *Shenington* in Oxfordshire at once suggests that it is a contraction of *Sheningey*, from a tribal name represented by the modern prefix *Shening-*; and this supposition is fully proved by the fortunate occurrence of the full form *Sceningei* (also *Scenegeia*) in I.C.C. The trisyllabic form *Schenegeye* occurs in 1276, in the Hundred Rolls, i. 50; and *Schenynghey* in 1277 (Pedes Finium). Cf. *Shenyngfeld* (Shinfield, Berks.) in Abbrev. Rot. p. 256. *Shening* is from a name represented by the *Shen-* of

[1] This is why we actually find *Gamilenkeia* in the time of Henry II; see Index to Charters and Rolls, Vol. i. Cf. *Horninggeseye* (Hund. Rolls, ii.).

Shenton, in Leicestershire, and perhaps by Sheen. The A.S. prefix *Scēn-* occurs in the compound name *Scēn-wulf*, which is preserved in the Liber Vitæ of Durham; see Sweet, Oldest Eng. Texts, p. 608, col. 1. The sense is "Shenings' isle."

I may add that there is a Shenley in Herts. and a Shenfield in Essex. The latter corresponds to the A.S. *scēn-feld*, the fair or beautiful field, for which see the A.S. Dictionary. This *scēne* is cognate with the familiar G. *schön*, beautiful; and I know of no reason why the *scēn-* in *scēn-feld* may not be the same as the *Scēn-* in *Scēn-wulf* and in *Scēn-ing*; for although *scēne*, "beautiful," is the usual poetical attribute of a woman, or of an angel, it might have been applied to a man, if not as a compliment, at any rate in irony.

As to the meaning of LINGAY, I am not at all certain. The syllable *ling* may have meant "heath"; for *ling* seems to be East Anglian, as it occurs in the Promptorium Parvulorum and in Moor's Suffolk Words. Or, possibly, an older form may have been Lengay, and perhaps this might be allied to A.S. *lang*, long. I only suggest that the suffix was rather *-ay* than *-gay*; for the prefix *Lin-* has no sense but "flax"; and it can hardly have been a suitable place for the growth of that plant.

[The name Spinney does not belong here; see p. 74.]

FEN.

The word *fen*, A.S. *fenn*, needs no illustration. It is not found here in compounds, but only in such cases as Fen Ditton, Fen Drayton, Fen Stanton (Hunts.), where it is adjectival; or after place-names, as Burwell Fen, Chippenham Fen, Dernford Fen, Soham Fen, Wicken Fen. We have also Burnt Fen, Coe Fen, Grunty (? Granta) Fen, Great and Little North Fen, and the like. I do not undertake to explain such names as *Coe Fen*, of which we have no history, nor any assurance that they are old. *Coe*, for example, is common as a surname, and the name may be modern, as is the case with many names found in the map, such as Grange Farm, Barker's Farm, Dotterel Hall, and others.

Field.

The suffix *field* (A.S. *feld*) occurs in Haslingfield, Nosterfield, and in the name of a hundred called Radfield.

Haslingfield. Spelt *Haselingfeld* in 1284 (F.A.); and *Haslingefeld* in Domesday Book. According to Kemble, the sense is the "field of the Hæslings"; so that *Haslinge-* in Domesday Book would represent A.S. *Hæslinga*, gen. plural.

Other examples of this name occur in Haslingden, Lancs.; Haslington, Chesh.; and Heslington, Yks. The name *Hæsel* or *Hæsl*, of which *Hæsl-ing* is the patronymic, is only known as the name of a tree, viz. the "hasel"; but it is paralleled by *Æsc*, which is a well-known personal name, though the literal sense is "ash-tree"; and there is an Ashing-ton in Sussex.

Nosterfield. Nosterfield End is near Shudy Camps. The name is found as early as 1284 (Feudal Aids, i. 140). I suppose it to be short for *Paternoster field*. See the account (in Blount's Tenures) of Alice Paternoster, who held lands at Pusey, in Berkshire, by the service of saying five paternosters a day for the souls of the king's ancestors. We find the name Normannus de Nostresfelda in I.C.C., p. 28.

Radfield. Spelt *Radfelde* in 1302, *Radefeld* in 1284 (F.A.); *Radefelle* (for *Radefelde*) in Domesday Book; and *Radefelde*, *Radesfeld*, in I.C.C. Apparently for A.S. *Rædan feld*, or 'field of Rædа'; *Rāda* being a pet-name from names beginning with Rǣd-. Compare Radbourne, Radcliffe, Radford, Radley, Radstock, Radstone, Radway. But in some at least of these examples *rad-* represents the A.S. *rēadan*, dat. of *rēad*, red. Similarly Radfield might mean "red field." I leave this in uncertainty.

Ford.

The sense of *ford*, A.S. *ford*, is well known. It occurs in Armingford and Chilford, which are the names of two of the hundreds; also in Dernford, Shelford, Stapleford, Thetford, Whittlesford, and Witchford. It has already been explained

that Duxford and Pampisford are modern substitutions for Duxworth and Pampisworth; see pp. 26, 27.

ARMINGFORD. The *m* usually appears as *n* in early documents. We find *Armyngeforth* in 1428 (F.A. i. 189); but *Arnyngforde* in 1302 and 1316 (F.A. i. 149, 156). Still earlier, the *A* appears as *E*; as in *Erningeford* (1159, 1165, 1170, 1173) in the Pipe Rolls; and Domesday Book has *Erningford*. The change from *er* to *ar* is common; so that *Erningeford* would seem to be the right Norman spelling; which is also to be found in Kemble, Cod. Dipl. iv. 245. An A.S. spelling is *Ærningaford*; Birch, Cart. Sax. iii. 556; where *ærn* is a Mercian form of *earn*, an eagle. The corresponding Wessex form is *Earninga*, as in *Earninga-den*, in Kemble's Index. *Earninga* is the gen. pl. of *Earning*, a patronymic formed from the personal name *Earn*, coinciding with A.S. *earn*, an eagle. Hence the sense is "ford of the sons of Earn." Note that the spellings *Ernincgaford*, *Ærningeford* occur in I.C.C. Compare ARRINGTON, p. 15.

CHILFORD. Spelt *Childeford* in 1168 (Pipe Roll), and *Cildeford* (= *Childeford*) in Domesday Book. Also *Childeforda* in I.C.C. Here *Childe* represents the A.S. *Cilda*, as in *Cildatūn* (Chilton, Berks.); and *cilda* is the gen. plural of A.S. *cild*, a child. The sense is "children's ford"; with a probable allusion to its shallowness. Compare *Ox-ford*, *Swin-ford*, &c.

DERNFORD. There is still a Dernford Farm, near Stapleford. *Dernford* is mentioned, according to the Index to the Charters, in 1372; and *Derneford*, co. Hunts., according to the same, in 1164. The M.E. *dern* means "secret, private, known but to few," as is shown in the N.E.D., s.v. *Dern*. From the A.S. *derne*, secret. The E. verb *to darn* is from the same source; see my Notes on Etymology, p. 56.

SHELFORD. Spelt *Selford* (A.F. form of *Shelford*) in 1210 (R.B.); Domesday Book has *Escelforde*, with prefixed euphonic *E*; I.C.C. has both *Esceldford* and *Sceldford*. The A.F. *Scelford* occurs in Kemble, Cod. Dipl. iv. 245; and *Seldford* in

1228 (Pedes Finium). It is clearly the same name as that spelt *Sceldeford*; Hugonis Candidi Cœnobii Burgensis Historia, p. 39. The *d* is lost between *l* and *f*, precisely as in Chilford (above). This is a correct and intelligible form. Halliwell gives the M.E. *scheld*, shallow, as applied to water, with a good example; and adds that it is still in use. It is a mutated variant (with *e* for *a*) of M.E. *schald*, shallow; see Barbour's Bruce, ix. 354, and the footnote, and *schald* in Jamieson. This form is not recorded in the Dictionaries, but certainly existed, as it is preserved in the place-name Shalford, in Essex and Surrey, as shown by Mr Stevenson (Phil. Soc. Trans., 1895–8, p. 532). Cf. Shalbourn (shallow bourn), Berkshire; Shalfleet (shallow stream) in the Isle of Wight. There is also a Shelford in Notts., beside Stoke Ferry on the river Trent. And the following extract from Kemble, Cod. Dipl. iv. 157, gives the forms *Scealdeford* and *Sceldeford* as convertible:—"of Staundūne to Scealdeforda, and of Sceldeforda to coleboge welle." But this is in quite a late MS.

Stapleford. Spelt *Stapelforde* in 1302 (F.A. i. 147); *Stapleford* in Domesday Book; *Staplesford* (with error of *sf* for *ff*) in Kemble, Cod. Dipl. iv. 245, in an Anglo-French copy; but *Stapelford* in Birch, Cart. Saxon. iii. 687. Stapleford (Herts.) appears as *Stapulford* (Kemble's Index). The prefix is A.S. *stapul*, *stapol*, an upright post; by which, presumably, the ford was originally marked. Compare Staplow; p. 74.

Thetford. Spelt *Tedford* in Domesday Book, with *T* for *Th*; owing to the difficulty of sounding the English *th*. The Liber de Hyda (p. 10) has the correct M.E. form, viz. *Theedford*. The A.S. form is *þēodford*; A.S. Chron., ed. Plummer, ii. 446; and *þēod-*, in composition means "great," the literal sense of the sb. *þēod* being "people." The literal sense is "people-ford," hence "large or wide ford." Why Isaac Taylor calls this obvious solution "improbable," it would be difficult to say. Perhaps Toller's explanation of *þēod-* in composition was then unpublished.

WHITTLESFORD. For the explanation, see WHITTLESEA. Lit. "ford of Hwītel."

WITCHFORD. Domesday Book has *Wiceford*, with *ce* = *che*. The Ramsey Chartulary has *Wicheford*; and the forms *Wichforda*, *Wicheforda* occur in I.C.C. For one explanation, see WITCHAM. Or it may mean "ford near the witch-elm"; from A.S. *wice*; cf. Ashford, Oakford, Thornford.

HEATH.

Perhaps the sole example of this suffix is seen in HORSEHEATH; the derivation of which is obvious. It appears as *Horseheth* in 1339, in the Ely Registers, but *Horseth* (with loss of *h*) in 1276, Hund. Rolls, p. 52, and in 1283, In. p. m.

LEY.

Examples of *-ley* occur in Ashley, Brinkley, Cheveley, Childerley, Eltisley, Graveley, East Hatley and Hatley St George, Madingley, Silverley, Westley, and Wetherley. The suffix *-ley* represents the A.S. *lēah*, a lea or field, or in some cases at least, the dat. case *lèage* of the same substantive. As the *g* in *lēage* was sounded like *y*, the Mid. Eng. form is usually *lēye* in the dative, and *ley* in the nominative; see *lēi* in Stratmann.

ASHLEY. In Domesday Book spelt *Esselie*, with *ss* for *sh* (as often), and *E* for A.S. *Æ*. The prefix is the A.S. *æsc*, modern E. *ash*. See SILVERLEY at p. 67. There are four other Ashleys in England.

BRINKLEY. Spelt *Brynkeleye* in the Ely Registers in 1339; and, as late as in Fuller, *Brinkelee*. The Norman spelling *Brinkewrða* (for *Brinkeweorð*) occurs in a charter dated 1065, Kemble, Cod. Dipl. iv. 167, l. 1; with reference to Brinkworth in Wilts. There are also such names as Brinkburn, Brinkhill, and Brinklow. In all these cases we see the

modern E. *brink*, a word of Scandinavian origin; from Dan. *brink*, verge, Swed. *brink*, the descent or slope of a hill. According to the map, the road from Six Mile Bottom to Brinkley rises nearly 250 feet.

CHEVELEY. The spellings somewhat vary; we find *Chevelee* or *Chevele* in 1383, 1394, and 1401 (Cat. Anc. Deeds, and F.A. i. 175); *Cheveley* (as now) in 1428 (F.A.). Also *Chavele* in 1302 to 1346 (F.A.); *Chauelai* in 1160 (Pipe Roll); *Chavelai* in Domesday Book; and *Chauelei*, *Cauelei*, *Cheueleie* in I.C.C. The spellings *Calvelega* and *Chalvelega* in R.B., in 1171 and 1167, introduce an unoriginal *l*. It is spelt *Cœafle* (in the dat. case) in a twelfth century copy of a charter dated about 990; see Earle, Land Charters, p. 368, l. 10. Also *Cheaflea* in a copy of a charter of King Cnūt; Cod. Dipl. iv. 13. All the earlier spellings are consistent with a derivation from the A.S. *ceaf*, mod. E. *chaff*. See *Chaff* in the New Eng. Dictionary.

It would appear that the final *f* took the sound of *v*, thus obscuring the meaning of the word; after which *Chave-* became *Cheve*. The Eng. Dial. Dictionary has *chave* as a verb, meaning to separate chaff from grain; also *chavins* or *cheevings*, bits of broken straw; *chavin-riddle* or *cheevy-riddle*, a coarse sieve used in chaving; *chave-hole*, a recess for chaff. Hence the form *Cheve-* is not without support. There is a Chieveley in Berks., but it is of different origin, meaning "Cifa's lea"; see *Cifan-lēa* in Kemble's Index.

CHILDERLEY. Spelt *Chylderle* in 1302 (F.A. i. 148); and *Cildrelai* (with *Ci* for *Chi*) in Domesday Book. Here *Childer-* or *Childre-* represents the A.S. *cildra*, gen. pl. of *cild*, a child. The sense is "children's lea." As the A.S. *cild* has a double form of the gen. pl., viz. *cilda* and *cildra*, there is no difficulty in assigning to *Childer-* the same sense as to the *Chil-* (for *cilda*) in Chilford (p. 63).

ELTISLEY. Spelt *Eltislee* in Fuller's Worthies; *Elteslee* in 1302 (F.A. i. 149); *Eltesle* in 1251 (In. p. m., p. 8). The prefix seems to involve the same personal name as that which appears in Altham, Lancs., also spelt *Alvetham*, *Elvetham*, where

Elvet represents the A.S. Ælfgeat; see Wyld, Place-names of Lancs., p. 48. It may therefore mean "Ælfgeat's lea."

GRAVELEY. Spelt *Gravele* in 1284 (F.A. i. 138); *Gravelei* in Domesday Book. The A.S. spelling is *Græflēa*; Thorpe, Diplom. p. 382, note 16; compare *Greflea*, *Græflea*, in the Ramsey Chartulary. It is compounded of A.S. *græf*, a trench, mod. E. *grave*, and *lēah*, a lea or field. The sense is "field with a trench." Cf. the Crawford Charters, pp. 61, 62.

HATLEY. Spelt *Hattele* in 1284 (F.A. i. 136); *Hattelega* (Latin) in 1210 (R.B.); *Hatelai*, *Atelai* in Domesday Book. The A.S. form is *Hættanlēa*, in Ælfhelm's Will; Kemble, Cod. Dipl. iv. 300, l. 13. *Hættan* is the gen. case of a personal name *Hætta*, of which *Hetta* (noted by Mr Searle) is apparently an alteration. It means "Hætta's lea."

MADINGLEY. Spelt *Maddynglee* in 1302, *Maddingle* in 1284 (F.A. i. 138, 148), *Madinglega* (Latin), in 1210 (R.B.); *Madingelee* in 1199 (Pedes Finium); *Madingelei* in Domesday Book. The A.S. form would be *Madinga-lēah*, or "lea of the Madings." *Mading* is a tribal name; cf. *Mada* as a personal name, whence the dat. *Madan-lēage*, i.e. Madeley; Kemble, Cod. Dipl. iii. 123, l. 3. There is a Maddington in Wilts.; whilst from the name *Mada* we have Madeley in Shropshire (as above), and Madehurst in Sussex.

SILVERLEY. There is a parish named Ashley-cum-Silverley. The spelling *Silverle* occurs in 1284, 1302, 1346, and 1428 (F.A. i. 139, 142, 158, 177); but Domesday Book has *Severlai*, and we find *de Seuerlaio* in I.C.C., p. 98, for which another MS. has *de Seiluerleia*. The prefix seems a strange one, but we have similar instances; compare Silverdale, Lancs., Silverstone, Northampt., Silverton, Devon. In Silverdale, *Silver-* was substituted for *Siuerd-*, A.S. *Sigeweard* (Wyld, Pl.-names of Lancs.); and Silverley may once have been "Sigeweard's lea."

WESTLEY. Spelt *Weslai* in Domesday Book, with *s* for *st*; but *Westlai* in Cod. Dipl. iv. 245. The prefix is the E. *west*.

This village is often called Westley Waterless, so that it was once badly off for wells. Mr Foster finds that it had the epithet *waterlees* as far back as 1339, as recorded in the Ely Registers; and I have since found *Westle waterles* in 1308 (Pedes Finium). Perhaps it is necessary to say that the former spelling, with final *-lees*, is the usual Mid. English spelling; and it is interesting to notice that the word occurs in Chaucer's Prologue, l. 180:—"Is likned til a fish that is *waterlees*." The A.S. form of this suffix is *-lēas*.

Wetherley. This is the name of a hundred. The spelling *Wetherle* occurs in 1284 and 1302 (F.A. 137, 146); but another spelling is *Wederle* in 1168, or better *Wederleah*, as in 1166 (Pipe Rolls); Domesday Book has *Wederlai*; but I.C.C. has both *Wederlai* and *Weðerlai*. This suggests that the prefix is *wether*, a sheep, A.S. *weðer*, for which the A.F. form was *weder*, owing to the difficulty of sounding the *th*. Cf. Wethersfield in Essex.

Mere. The A.S. *mere* means "lake," in which sense it is familiar to all who know the English lakes. I know of no example in Cambs. except Fowlmere or Foulmire. The name Foulmire is comparatively modern (later than 1500), but is not difficult to account for. It is well-known how the letter *r* has a tendency to preserve a preceding long vowel; thus the word *more* is still pronounced with the open *o*, whereas the *o* in *stone* is close; and the word *shire* is still locally called *sheer*, though usually it rhymes to *fire*, and this *ee* preserves the A.S. pronunciation of the *ī* in *scīr*. It is not surprising that some people should once have confused the word *mere*, a lake, with the old sound of *mire*, and so have altered the word to suit a popular etymology, suggested by the fancy that *fowl* meant "dirty," instead of referring to birds. However, there is no doubt as to the sense, though the mere has now been drained away. The spelling *Foulmere* occurs in 1401, and *Fulmere* in 1302 (F.A. i. 147, 175); the Pipe Rolls have *Fugelmara*, where *Fugel* is at any rate explicit. Even in Domesday Book we find the spellings *Fuglemære* and *Fugelesmara*, where once more the former

part of the word is correct, but the latter part is a little altered, by the substitution of the Latinised form *mara* (A.F. *mare*, from O. Norse *marr*) for A.S. *mere*; see *Mara* in Ducange. Fortunately, the original A.S. compound is not difficult to find; there were several "fowl-meres" in different parts of England, and they must have been extremely useful when hawking was common. The A.S. *fugel-mere* (fowl-mere) occurs in a charter dated 931, Earle, Land Charters, p. 166, last line but one; and again in a charter dated 972 (which Prof. Earle thinks to be genuine); p. 449, l. 6 from the bottom. I even find the late spelling *fugel-mœre* in Birch, Cart. Saxon. iii. 529, l. 4 from bottom; and the true form *fugel-mere* in the very next line. It is a pity that the A.S. dictionaries omit the word, though they give several compounds with *fugel*; but it is duly noted in Earle's Glossarial Index, p. 490.

POOL. From A.S. *pōl*, a pool; now ascertained to be a Germanic word, not Celtic. It occurs in Wimpole.

WIMPOLE. The *m* in *Wimpole* is due to the succeeding *p*. The spelling *Wympole* occurs in 1346, but may be due to a mistake, as *Wynipole* also appears at the same date (F.A. i. 164, 169). Earlier, we find *Wynepol* in 1302 (F.A. i. 146), and *Winepole* in 1210 (R.B.) and in Domesday Book. The prefix represents *Winan*, gen. of *Wina*, a known name. The pool in Wimpole Park is still large enough to be marked in maps. It means "Wina's pool."

WADE. This suffix occurs in LAND-WADE, where the prefix is the common word *land*. The old spellings are *Landwade* (1284, 1316, 1346) in F.A. i. 136, 156, 159, and *Landwath* (1210) in R.B. The variation of spelling shows that it represents the A.S. *wæd*, a ford, which occurs in some dialects as *wath* (Icel. *vað*), as noted by Jamieson, Ray, and in the Catholicon Anglicum. We have the same suffix in *Biggles-wade*. The cognate Lat. form is *uadum*, a ford. Allied to E. *wade*, verb, and to Lat. *uādere*, to go.

§ 11. Some other Names.

In the following names, we have mostly to deal with simple words rather than compounds.

Borough Green. Named from *Borough*, which is the older name; spelt *Burg* in the time of Henry III and *Burch* in Domesday Book. From A.S. *burh*, a fort, a borough. It is also spelt Burrough Green; and it lies to the N.E. of Brinkley.

Bourn. So named from the brook, now called Bourn Brook. Formerly *Burne* in 1210, but the earlier spelling is *Brunne*, in 1171, 1190, 1194 (R.B.); and *Brune* in Domesday Book. Thus its first name was Scandinavian, from Icel. *brunnr*, a spring, well, or fountain; which was afterwards exchanged for the corresponding English name, from A.S. *burne, burna*, a small stream.

Burnt Fen. This part of the fen-land, to the east of Ely, doubtless obtained its name from the famous story of the burning of the fen there by Hereward and his men. See ch. 25 of the Gests of Hereward, appended to Gaimar's Chronicle, ed. Wright (Caxton Society), p. 94.

Chatteris. A common old spelling is *Chateriz*, as in 1326 (In. p. m., p. 237) and in late copies of charters; see Cod. Dipl. iii. 107; also *Chaterih* in the same, iv. 145. I.C.C. has *Catriz, Cateriz, Cetriz, Chetriz*; Domesday Book has *Cetriz, Cietriz*; all Norman spellings. English spellings are supplied by the Ramsey Chartulary, which has *Ceatrice, Cæateric, Chateric, Chaterik*; and we find *Ceateric* in Thorpe, Diplom., p. 382. The final *-z* in the Norman spelling was sounded as *ts*, and it seems to have been used as a substitute for the Latin suffix *-cus*, in the case of names which were Latinised by adding *-us* to an A.S. name in *-c*. Thus, in I.C.C., we find an A.S. form *Ædric* (for Ēadrīc), whence Lat. *Ædricus*, and A.F. *Ædriz*; A.S. *Aluric* (for Ælfrīc), Lat. *Aluricus*, A.F. *Alriz*; A.S. *Gōdrīc*, Lat. *Godricus*, A.F. *Godriz*; A.S. *Lēofrīc*, Lat. *Leofricus*, A.F.

Leofríz. Hence the Norman forms quoted above represent such forms as *Catric, Cateric, Cetric, Chetric*; and all the forms quoted may be deduced from an A.S. form *Ceatrīc* or *Cætrīc.* But as this form has no suffix significant of position, it cannot represent a personal name. Mr Stevenson kindly suggests that it may have been a river-name. Cf. *Wenrīc, Wenrisc,* the river Windrush; in Kemble's Index. And perhaps cf. Chatburn, Lancs.

Cold Harbour. I understand that this name is found in Cambs., as in several other counties. It simply means "shelter, unprovided with a fire-place." It is explained in the New English Dictionary, s.v. *Harbour,* § 2. Such shelters were made by the way-side. The word *Harbour* is of Norse origin, and first occurs about A.D. 1150. There was a "Cold Harbrough" within London itself, mentioned in 1320; see the interesting note by Stowe, in his Survey of London, ed. Thoms, pp. 88–9.

Elm. Spelt *Elm* in 1346 (F.A. i. 141), and in a late copy of a charter; Kemble, Cod. Dipl. v. 4, l. 3 from bottom. The editor of the Ramsey Chartulary notes a mention of it in 1321; see iii. 122, note 12. From A.S. *elm,* an elm-tree. There is nothing very remarkable in so childish a name; compare Ash, Hazel Grove, Hazelwood, Maplestead, Poplar, and the like, in various counties. And observe the name Prickwillow, noted at p. 72. There is an Elmham in Norfolk.

Kennet. Kennet is near a river of the same name. Spelt *Kenet* in 1346 (F.A.), *Chenet* (for *Kenet*) in Domesday Book; *Kenet* in I.C.C. The question as to whether the name belonged originally to the town or to the river seems to be settled by the fact that there is another river Kennet which joins the Thames at Reading; and the village of East Kennet in Wiltshire is situated upon it. Perhaps the river-name Kent is related to it; at any rate, *Kentford* in Suffolk is short for *Kennetford,* as it is spelt *Chenetheford* in the Chronicle of Ramsey Abbey. Mr Stevenson says that the Berkshire Kennet

is from an older **Cunētio*, from which the regular descendant would be *Cynwydd*, which exists as a Welsh river-name.

KIRTLING. Spelt *Kertelenge* in Fuller's Worthies; *Chertelinge* (for *Kertelinge*) in Domesday Book; and *Curtelinge* in I.C.C. As the vowel *e* or *i* would have palatalised the A.S. initial *C*, it is certain that the A.S. form began with *Cy*. This is pointed out by Kemble in his Saxons in England, i. 460, who infers that this was a settlement of the tribe of *Cyrtlingas* or sons of *Cyrtla*; a result which is confirmed by the existence of a Kirtlington in Oxfordshire. The name *Cyrtla* occurs in the Crawford Charters, p. 52. It may have been given to a man from his dress; cf. A.S. *cyrtel*, a kirtle, a kind of garment. Egilsson points out that the Icel. *geita-kyrtla*, lit. "clad in a goat-skin kirtle," was an epithet applied to a country lass.

MARCH. Spelt *Merch* in 1169, in the Pipe Roll; *Merc* in I.C.C. From A.S. *mearce*, inflected form of *mearc*, fem., a mark, boundary or limit. For the sense of the term see Kemble, Saxons in England, vol. i. c. 2, entitled "The Mark."

NEWMARKET. Spelt *Newemarket* in 1383 (Cat. Anc. Deeds, ii.), and referred to as *Novus Mercatus* in 1276 (Hund. Rolls), and in 1219 (Pedes Finium). From *new* and *market*. The earliest known use of the word *market* is in the Laud MS. of the A.S. Chronicle (an. 963), written not earlier than 1120. The town cannot be of earlier date than the 12th century, and is probably no earlier than the 13th.

OVER. Spelt *Overe* in 1210 (R.B.); *Ovre* and *Oure* in Domesday Book; *Ouer* in a late copy of a charter; Cod. Dipl. iv. 145. The A.S. form is *ōfre*, dat. of *ōfer*, a shore of the sea, or bank of a river; cognate with G. *Ufer*. Over is situate on what was once a bank or shore, overlooking the waters of the fenland.

PRICKWILLOW. A village beyond Ely, near the railway. Named from a tree, probably the *Salix viminalis*, sometimes called the *twig-withy* or *osier-withy*. So called because used for

making *pricks* or skewers. Similarly the *Euonymus europæus* was called the *prickwood, pricktimber*, or *spindle-tree*. Compare Elm, as noted at p. 71.

QUY. The name somewhat varied at different dates. The spelling with *qu* is found after 1250. Thus we find *Queye* in 1261 (Pedes Finium), 1290 (In. p. m.), 1302 (F.A.), and *Qweye* in 1291 (Taxatio Ecclesiastica); with the variant *Coye* in 1276 (Hundred Rolls) and 1284 (F.A.). This shows that the word was identified with the A.F. *queye, queie*, O.F. *coye*, the feminine of the A.F. adj. *quey*, O.F. *coy*, from Lat. *quiētus*, quiet; as if *Queye* meant the quiet (or secluded) house or village. But earlier spellings show that this was a Norman popular etymology. The name was probably A.S., as the place is mentioned both in I.C.C. and D.B. The forms in I.C.C. are *Coeie, Choeie*, Latinised as *Coeia* in D.B.; whilst the Inquisitio Eliensis has *Cuege*. In 1210 we find *Cueye* (R.B.); and in 1272 *Coweye, Cowye* (Pedes Finium). If we may trust to the form *Cū-ēge*, the sense is "cow-island," as is still more clearly shown by the later forms *Cu-eye, Cow-eye, Cow-ye*. The *-eie* in I.C.C., Latinised as *-eia*, also points clearly to the suffix meaning "island"; compare the numerous examples already given, pp. 53—61. The only difficulty is to explain the A.F. prefix *Co-*, of which *Cho-* (with *Ch* for *K*) is the equivalent. We may fairly suppose that this early *ō* really meant the A.S. *ū*, because the Norman of the 11th century did not possess the sound *ū* at all, and *ō* was the nearest equivalent; see the preface by G. Paris to his Extraits de la Chanson de Roland, § 25. Thus this Chanson has *por*, where Philip de Thaun has *pur*, and later French has *pour*.

REACH. Spelt *Reche* in 1279 (Hund. Rolls), and in 1316 (F.A.). It lies to the north of Swaffham Prior. The map in The Fenland, Past and Present, shows that it stood at the very verge of the waters of the fenlands, on a round projection of the old shore. It denotes, accordingly, that its position was on a "reach" or extension of the land; and we have a similar name in Over, already discussed. The A.S. *rǣcan*, to reach,

also means to extend or hold out. The substantive derived from it is not in early use; so that the present name is probably no older than the thirteenth century. Sawtry in Hunts. is merely a corruption of *Saltreche*; see the Index to the Cartularium de Rameseia. It once stood upon a small salt bay.

Spinney. There is a Spinney Abbey to the North of Wicken Fen. This name is French; from the A.F. *espinei*, a place where thorn-trees grow; from the Lat. *spinētum*, a thorn-thicket. The surname *de Spineto* refers to it, in 1228 (Pedes Finium), and in 1299 (In. p. m.).

Stane, Staine. The name of a hundred. Spelt *Stanes* in Domesday Book; a form which suggests a derivation from A.S. *stān*, a stone. But as this would have produced the modern form *Stone*, it was clearly re-named by Scandinavians, who translated it by the equivalent Scandinavian word, as seen in Icel. *steinn*, a stone. It makes no difference to the sense. *Stanes* represents the A.S. plural *stānas*, i.e. "stones"; and we find this form in the Inquis. Eliensis, p. 98. Perhaps it is worth noting that the spelling *Stegen* given in Searle's Onomasticon is merely the English way of writing the Danish name *Stein*, which is the precise equivalent of A.S. *Stān*. In the same way, in the A.S. *bātswegen*, modern Eng. *boatswain*, we see the Danish equivalent of the A.S. *swān* denoted by *swegen*; and, at the same time, *Swegen* is the A.S. spelling of *Swein*, king of England in 1014. The reason is that *ei* was a diphthong unknown to A.S. scribes, who could only denote it by *eg*, where *eg* represents the sound of *ay* in *way* (A.S. *weg*).

Staplow, Staploe. The name of a hundred; a contracted form. The old spellings are *Stapelho*, 1284–1346; *Stapilho*, 1401; *Stapulho*, 1428; all in F.A. Domesday Book has *Staplehou*. The prefix is the A.S. *stapol*, a post, pole, or pillar, as in Stapleford (p. 64). The suffix is the modern Eng. *hoe*, a promontory or projecting point of land, derived from the A.S. *hōh*, a heel, a projection. See *Hoe* in the New Eng. Dictionary.

No doubt the hundred (which includes Soham) was named from a lost village.

STOW; as in Stow-cum-Quy, and in North Stow and Long Stow hundreds. From A.S. *stōw*, "a place" or site; whence the verbs *stow* and *bestow* are derived.

TOFT. *Toft* is a well-known word of Scandinavian origin; the usual sense is a cleared space for the site of a house; hence, a "homestead." See *topt* in Vigfusson's Icelandic Dictionary. The Domesday Book has *Tofth*, owing to the fact that the Norman scribes frequently represented the English *t* (especially when final) by *th*; by which symbol they meant a strongly pronounced *t*, not the English *th*. Oddly enough, the spelling *Thofte* occurs in 1302 (F.A. i. 149), where it is the initial *T* that is thus treated.

TYDD, or TYDD ST GILES. Spelt *Tyd* in 1302 (F.A. i. 141), and in 1293 (In. p. m.). From an A.S. personal name. The earliest form of the name is *Tidi* (with short *i*) in the ninth century; hence the place-name *Tiddes-ford* (Kemble). There is also a weak form *Tidda*. Compare the place-names Tidmarsh, Tidworth, and Tiddington.

WICKEN. The same as *Wykes*, mentioned in 1210, in the Red Book of the Exchequer, and in 1284 in Feudal Aids, i. 136; and see In. p. m. There is much less difference in reality than in appearance; for the sense is practically the same in either case. *Wykes* is the Mid. Eng. plural of *wyk*, answering to A.S. *wīc*, a village; and *Wicken*, spelt *Wykyne* in 1395 in the Pedes Finium, answers to A.S. *wīcum*, the dat. pl. of the same word, the pl. being used in the same sense as the singular; see *wīc* in the A.S. Dictionary. The use of the dative is common in place-names; and the *u* in the suffix *um* would prevent the *c* from being palatalised.

WRATTING. Spelt *Wrattinge* in 1302 (F.A. i. 141); and *Wreting* in 1167 (P.R.). A variant is *Wrotinge* in 1210 (R.B.);

and as late as in Fuller's Worthies we find *Wrotting*. Domesday Book has *Waratinge*, where the former *a* is inserted to help the Norman to pronounce the *W*. In Ælfhelm's Will we have the A.S. form *Wrættincge* in the dative case. The name marks the settlement of an East-Anglian tribe of *Wrættings* or "sons of Wrætta." There is another Wratting in Suffolk; and, although we do not find *Wræt* as a personal name, it is sufficiently vouched for by Wretham and Wretton, both in Norfolk. Neither is it difficult to divine whence the name arose; the bearer of the name was probably conspicuous by bearing (like Oliver Cromwell) a wart upon his face. The Promptorium Parvulorum gives us *wret* as the East-Anglian form of "wart," and it is still in use; and the form *wrat* is still good Northern English. The Dutch word also is written *wrat*.

§ 12. List of Ancient Manors.

The following is a list of manors in the county of Cambridge, according to the Inquisitio Comitatus Cantabrigiensis and the Inquisitio Eliensis, in modern spelling, except when now unrepresented.

Bassingbourn, Balsham, *Belincgesham*, Bottisham, Bourn, Burwell, Camps, Carlton, *Clintona*, Cottenham, Kirtling, Chippenham, Ditton, Doddington, Dullingham, Dunham, Impington, *Erlingetona* (Harlton?), Shelford, Ashley, *Esselinga*, Fulbourn, Fowlmere, Gransden, Hauxton, Histon, Hildersham, Hinton, Horningsea, Kennet, Linton, Litlington, Lolworth, *Lyndona*, Madingley, Morden, Over, Soham, Silverley, Saxton, Snailwell, Stapleford, Stetchworth, Streatham, Swaffham, Sutton, Teversham, Trumpington, Wratting, Wendy, Weston, Witcham, *Wich* (Wicken?), Wilbraham, Wisbeach, Whittlesea, Willingham, Wentworth.

For a list of hundreds, see Conybeare's Hist., p. 270.

§ 13. Conclusion.

The chief conclusion to be drawn from a general survey of the names is that very nearly all of them are Mercian English, perhaps mixed with Frisian, from which it is hardly distinguishable. There is hardly a trace of Celtic, except in the names of rivers. Of these, the Granta is certainly Celtic, and is the origin (after many vicissitudes) of the modern Cam. The Kennet is also apparently Celtic; but as to the origin of the Lark I can find no evidence. Among the oldest place-names is that of Ely. Considering the numerous inroads of the Danes, the traces of Danish are surprisingly small. The only name that is wholly Scandinavian is Toft. We also find traces of Danish nomenclature in the former syllables of Brinkley and Carlton, and perhaps of Boxworth and Pampisford. Bourn had once the Danish name of Brunne, and Staine is a Danish form of an A.S. *Stān* (Stone). I have seen an appeal made to the name Begdale, near Elm, as being an instance of Scandinavian influence; but I suspect the name to be modern, and introduced from without; this is notoriously not a county in which one can find *dales*. Besides these traces of Danish, there are a few traces of Norman, as in the instance of the modern form of Quy, in the former elements of Guyhirn and Royston, and in the latter element of Newmarket; and some of the native names have been somewhat affected by a Norman pronunciation, as in the final syllable of Chatteris. But all these instances chiefly serve to emphasize the predominance of English; and it must never be forgotten that the speech of Cambridgeshire and Essex has always influenced the speech of London, and has thus affected to some extent and at second-hand, the prevailing speech of the whole empire.

It has been alleged, with apparent truth, that the centre of gravity of the English dialects, that is to say, the district where the dialect approaches nearest to the literary standard, is that of Leicestershire. And it is further clear that our literary speech arose from the fact that, in three great educational centres, viz. London, Oxford, and Cambridge, the talk of the

higher classes did not materially differ, and certainly belonged to what is known as East Midland. I believe we cannot be far wrong in saying that the district whence standard English really arose is that occupied by a compact set of 12 counties, viz. Middlesex, Hertfordshire, Bedfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Oxfordshire, Warwickshire, Leicestershire, Rutland, Northamptonshire, Huntingdonshire, Cambridgeshire and Essex.

Postscript. The recent publication of The Charters of the Borough of Cambridge by the Corporation of Cambridge and the Cambridge Antiquarian Society jointly suggests the addition of a few supplementary remarks.

At p. 2 of this work is printed a Writ of Henry I, in which the spelling *Cantebruge* (for Cambridge) occurs. But the text is taken from a late copy, so that we have still no evidence for such a spelling earlier than 1142 (see p. 31 above). In fact, the original text of this Writ probably had *Grentebruge* throughout, as printed in the second line of it. This same work exhibits the spelling *Cambrigge* at p. 56, as occurring in Letters Patents dated 1465. Compare this with *Cambryge* in 1462, as noted at p. 32 above.

At p. 202 of the same work, the spelling of Stourbridge is seen to have been *Stirbrigge* in 1519, whilst we learn from p. 100 that it had become *Sturbridge* in 1589. Cooper's Annals of Cambridge mentions *Styrrebridge* in 1544, and *Stirbrige* in 1546 (vol. i. pp. 416, 441). But, as shown at p. 33 above, the oldest spelling is *Steresbreg'*, as in 1279; in confirmation of which I can further cite *Steresbreg'* in 1201–2 from the Rotulus Cancellarii de tertio anno regni regis Johannis (1833), p. 140, and *Steresbrig'* in 1199–1200 from Rotuli Curiæ Regis, ed. Sir F. Palgrave, vol. ii. p. 62. Hence the explanation given at p. 33 above is sufficiently justified.

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I have taken the opportunity of giving at the same time—within marks of parenthesis—the spellings which occur in Domesday Book, with references to the *pages* and *columns* as numbered in the Facsimile of the Part relating to Cambridgeshire, photozincographed in 1862.

Thus the place-name Abington is discussed at p. 19 above; whilst the spelling *Abintone* will be found in the Facsimile four times, viz. in p. III, col. 1 (denoted by 3 a), in p. III, col. 2 (denoted by 3 b), in p. IX, col. 2, and in p. XI, col. 1.

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THE PLACE-NAMES

OF

SUFFOLK

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THE PLACE-NAMES

OF

SUFFOLK

2628 MR

BY THE

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PREFACE

THE MS. copy of this work was arranged by Professor Skeat but his death occurred before the proof-sheets could be submitted to him.

The Council of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society therefore publish the work as Professor Skeat left it.

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THE PLACE-NAMES OF SUFFOLK

Prefatory Remarks.

To the Cambridge Antiquarian Society will always belong the credit of initiating a series of works upon the Place-names of Counties, founded upon strictly scientific investigation. My Place-names of Cambridgeshire was published by them in 1901; those of Huntingdonshire in 1903; and of Bedfordshire in 1906. My Place-names of Hertfordshire was published by the East Herts. Archæological Society in 1904; and of Berkshire, by the Clarendon Press, in 1911. Mr W. H. Duignan, of Walsall, published his Notes upon Staffordshire Place-names in 1902; and upon those of Worcestershire in 1905, and has just given us (1912) an account of those of Warwickshire. The West Riding Place-names, by Prof. Moorman of Leeds, was published by the Thoresby Society in 1910; and the Place-names of Lancashire, by Dr H. C. Wyld and Dr T. O. Hirst, appeared in 1911. This makes ten counties in all.

Being anxious to increase the series, I now attempt to give some account of the Place-names of Suffolk. I was led to select this county because Dr Copinger, in his six volumes of Collections for a History of Suffolk, has taken the enormous trouble of collecting all the old spellings of place-names which his exhaustive researches enabled him to discover, duly entering them under their respective articles, in alphabetical order; and since such a collection of old forms constitutes no inconsiderable portion of the task of the investigator, I was under the impression that all due preparation had been made. I found his work of very great service, but he unfortunately made the regrettable mistake of omitting to indicate his authorities! The result was, of course, that the principal books of reference, such as Domesday Book, the Red Book of the Exchequer, the Hundred Rolls, Testa de Nevill, and the Inquisitiones post Mortem had to be consulted in detail all over again. Still,

I did not find it necessary to go further, as the material was then ample; and I now give the references for all the more important forms.

Further information as to the methods pursued and the results to be expected can be found in the introductions to my previous essays of the same character, and need not be here repeated.

Abbreviations.

The following is a list of the more important sources of information, with the abbreviations that denote them.

D.B.—Domesday Book (part relating to Suffolk). The page quoted does not refer to the Book as a whole, but to the paging of the Facsimile of the part relating to Suffolk.
E.D.D.—English Dialect Dictionary.
F.A.—Feudal Aids (Record Series); vol. i.
H.R.—Rotuli Hundredorum, vol. i.
Ipm.—Calendarium Inquisitionum post Mortem sive Escaetarum; ed. J. Caley; vol. i. (Record Series).
N.E.D.—New English Dictionary (Oxford).
R.B.—Red Book of the Exchequer; ed. W. D. Selby (Rolls Series).
T.N.—Testa de Nevill (temp. Henry III and Edw. I).
V.E.—Valor Ecclesiasticus; temp. Henry VIII.

Of course I constantly refer to the well-known editions of the Anglo-Saxon Charters by Kemble and Birch, to Thorpe's Diplomatarium Ævi Saxonici, and to Earle's Select Charters. Also, to the Crawford Charters, ed. Napier and Stevenson; and to Searle's Onomasticon, from which I quote Anglo-Saxon personal names, verifying them in many instances by a reference to the Charters. Amongst numerous books of reference which I have consulted, I may particularise the following:

Bardsley, Rev. C. W. A Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames. London, 1891.

Björkman, E. Nordische Personennamen in England. Halle a. S., 1910.

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I am grateful for several hints that these local books have afforded; but cannot help regretting that (with the notable exception of the Victoria History) they occasionally drop into etymology, with reprehensible results. There seems to be a rather general notion, in local works, that the river Gipping gave its name to Ipswich; with other similar fables.

The Place-names are arranged in alphabetical order according to the suffixes which they contain; this avoids much repetition.

The suffixes found in Suffolk are, most of them, readily intelligible, and may conveniently be here enumerated. The chief ones are:—*-acre, -bach, -beck, -bergh, -borough* (*-bury*), *-bourn, -bridge, -brook, -by, -camp, -clay, -dale, -dene* (*-den*), *-down* (*-don*), *-edish, -ey* (*-ea*), *-field, -fleet, -ford, -gate, -grave, -hale* (*-hall*), *-ham, -haugh, -heath, -hill, -ho* (*-hoe*), *-holt, -hurst,*

-ing, -land, -ley, -low, -meadow, -mere, -pool, -set, -stall, -stead, -stoke, -stone, -stow, -thorpe, -toft, -ton, -tree, -wade, -well, -wich (-wick), -wold, -wood, -worth, -yard.

To these I add a few names that cannot be included amongst such compounds.

The list of names is from Kelly's Post Office Directory of Suffolk.

The atlases consulted are Bacon's County Atlas, Philips' County Atlas, and Pigot's County Atlas (1831). The last of these gives the boundaries of the hundreds, which are very clearly shown in the map prefixed to Kirby's Suffolk Traveller. I have also made frequent use of the ordnance map upon the one-inch scale.

The various suffixes will now be discussed, in alphabetical order, as given above.

1. Acre.

The suffix *-acre* represents the A.S. *æcer*, a field. It only occurs in Benacre.

Benacre. Between Lowestoft and Southwold. Spelt *Benakr'*, H.R.; *Benagra*, D.B., p. 182[1]. From A.S. *bēan*, bean; so that the sense is 'bean-field.' The Supplement to Bosworth and Toller quotes the phrase "æcer bēanlandes," a field of bean-land, from Kemble, C.D. iii. 366. Ill spelt *bēan-eccer* in Birch, C.S. ii. 18, l. 18.

2. Bach.

This interesting word only occurs as a suffix in Debach. It is the prov. E. *bach(e)*, a valley through which a stream flows; M.E. *bache* or *bach*, as in Layamon, and in P. Plowman, C. viii. 159, discussed, s.v. *Bache*, in the N.E.D. The A.S. forms are *bæc*, *bec*, m. and n.; *bæce*, *bece*, as given in the Supplement to Bosworth and Toller, p. 60. We may explain it simply by 'valley'; remembering that it is etymologically connected with the prov. E. *beck*, a stream.

Debach. Spelt *Debeth*, error for *Debech* (by the common error of writing *t* for *c*, or of misreading), Ipm.; *Debaht*, error for *Debahc* (= *Debach*), H.R. D.B. has *Depebecs*, p. 240;

[1] The reference here, and elsewhere, is to the Part of the Facsimile edition of Domesday Book relating to Suffolk, photozincographed in 1863.

Depebek, p. 262; so that it represents the A.S. dat. form *dēopan bœce*, lit. 'deep valley'; which explains the spelling *Debenbeis* (with *n*), in D.B., p. 126. See Birch, C.S. iii. 344 (no. 1111), where we find:—"of tham *diopan bœce*."

The present local pronunciation is Debbidge, in strict accordance with the usual popular sound-changes.

3. Beck.

This well known prov. E. word for 'a small stream' is known in Suffolk and Norfolk as well as in the North. It occurs in Gosbeck.

Gosbeck; to the E. of Needham Market. Spelt *Gosebeck*, *Gosebek*, Ipm. From A.S. *gōs*, a goose. It simply means 'goose-brook,' or 'goose-stream.' Kemble has a *Gosebroc*, lit. 'goose-brook.'

4. Bergh.

This suffix not only occurs in Babergh, the name of a hundred, but also, as the old forms show, in Finborough. The confusion of *bergh* with *borough* is common, though they were kept separate in the older forms of our language. Bergh represents the A.S. *beorh*, a hill, a barrow, a mound; the modern form is *barrow*.

Babergh hundred. Spelt *Baben-berga*, D.B., p. 12; but the second *b* is an error for *d*, owing to the influence of the third *b*. *Baberga* also occurs, D.B., pp. 223, 225, 271. More correctly, *Badbergh* (hundred), *Badberewe* (hundred), H.R.; *Baddebury hundred*, Ipm.; so that the D.B. form should have been *Baden-berga* (with a Latin *-a* suffixed). *Baden* is the A.S. *Badan*, as in Badan-den, Badan-pyt; both in Kemble; and *Badan* is the gen. of *Bada*. The sense is 'Bada's hill,' or 'Bada's barrow.' The change from *db* to modern *b* is well illustrated by Babraham (Cambs.), originally Badburgeham, meaning 'Badburh's home,' or 'Badburh's ham.'

Finborough. There is a Finborough to the S.W. of Stowmarket, and a Great Finborough to the W. of it. The suffix *-borough* has been substituted for an earlier *-bergh*. We find *Fineburge* in R.B. and *Finebury* in Ipm.; but *Fineberg* in

H.R.; and *Fineberga* in D.B., pp. 9 and 336; *Finbergh* in Ipm., p. 55; and *Finburowe* even in V.E. The earliest spelling is *Finbeorh*, in a Wilts. charter, dated 957; though perhaps in a copy of later date; Birch, C.S. iii. 186. The name is a compound; and the former element may be safely identified with the A.S. word *fīn*, 'a heap,' which is fairly well authenticated, and not only occurs alone, but in the compounds *līm-fīn*, a lime-heap, or heap of lime, and *wudu-fīn*, a heap of wood: see the note in Napier's Glosses, p. 66, gloss 2456. The sense is, accordingly, 'a heap-barrow,' or an artificial mound made by heaping up materials. Near Great Finborough Hall there is a tumulus named the Devil's Hill.

5. Borough, Bury.

Borough is the usual modern E. form of the A.S. *burh*, a fort, borough, town; and *bury* represents its dative case *byrig*; so that the two may be taken together. *Borough* occurs in Burgh, Aldborough, Blythburgh, Grundisburgh and Rumburgh. *Bury* occurs alone in Bury St Edmund's and in the compounds Chedburgh, Kettleburgh, Sudbury.

Burgh. There are three places with this name referred to in Domesday Book. Burgh. Three miles N.W. of Woodbridge. Spelt *Burc*, D.B., p. 25; *Burch*, p. 70; *Burh*, p. 212; *Burg*, p. 301; which represent the A.S. *burh*, a fort; mod. E. borough. According to the map of Roman Suffolk in the Victoria County History this is on the line of the Roman road from Stratford St Mary to Dunwich and is on the site of the Roman station Combretonium.

Burgh. On the Waveney, at the beginning of Breydon Water. Spelt *Burch*, D.B., p. 329. There is a celebrated castle there, of Roman origin. This Burgh Castle is that mentioned in Beda, Hist. Eccl. iii. 19—"in castro quodam quod lingua Anglorum Cnobheres burg, id est urbs Cnobheri, uocatur." So that its name in Beda's time meant 'Cnobhere's burgh.' But Cnobhere was evidently forgotten at the time of the Norman Conquest, and it has become simply Burgh.

Burgh. In Colneis Hundred. Spelt *Burch*, D.B., pp. 68, 119; *Burg*, D.B., p. 286. This probably represents the Roman

fort, known in later times as Walton Castle, near Felixstowe, now washed away by the encroachments of the sea.

ALDBOROUGH, or (in Kelly's Directory) ALDEBURGH. Spelt *Aldeburc* in D.B., p. 71. The *e* may be explained as the termination of the weak feminine suffix of the nominative case; A.S. *sēo ealde burh*, Mercian *sēo alde burh*, i.e. 'the old borough.' Prof. Moorman thus explains Aldborough in the West Riding, and quotes, from a document of the thirteenth century, the entry:—"Aldeburgh, Vetus Burgh." It is clear that the river Alde took its name from the town, and not conversely. Many river-names are more modern than some suppose them to be. See DEBENHAM.

There is a difficulty about the development of the primary vowel; since the O. Merc. *ald* has given us the form *old*. However, this modern adjective is really due to Norman influence, which lengthened the *a* before *ld*, so as to produce an early Mid. E. form *āld*. But in the phrase *sēo alde burh*, the final *e* of *alde* easily dropped out; and then the old short *a* remained short (or was shortened) before the combination *ldb*.

BLYTHBURGH; or borough on the river Blythe. Spelt *Bliburg* in R.B., H.R., T.N.; because the Norman scribes failed to pronounce the E. *th*; also *Bliburgh*, H.R. In D.B., the E. voiced *th* was written *d*, so that it appears as *Blideburc*; p. 3. The river-name *Blythe* is old; there was a river named *Blithe* in Northamptonshire, mentioned in a charter dated 944; see Birch, C.S. iii. 541, four lines from the bottom; from the A.S. *blīthe*, 'the blithe,' or 'pleasant.' Hence also Blytheford and Blything.

GRUNDISBURGH. Spelt *Grundesburgh*, *Grundesburg*, Ipm.; *Grundisbur'*, H.R.; *Grundesburh*, D.B., p. 70; with many slight variants of no importance, but all implying the same origin; I may notice *Groundesburgh* and *Groundesborough*. There is no such name as Grund recorded in English, but Rygh gives Grundi as a Norse name, which occurs in rather numerous place-names abroad. Hence the sense may be 'Grundi's borough'; and we may attribute the name to Norse influence.

RUMBURGH. I do not know where to find the early forms;

but Dr Copinger gives us ten, viz. Rumberwe, Romboroughe, Rumburn (?), Rumbing (?); and Romborough, Romburgh, Romburg, Romborow, Romborrow, Romebury. The A.S. form may well have been *rūm-burh*, i.e. roomy or wide borough. We may exemplify this by comparing it with Rum-cofa, perhaps 'wide cove,' given in the A.S. Chronicle, under the date 915, as the old name of Runcorn (Cheshire); and especially with *rūm-beorgas*, 'wide barrows,' in a charter dated 972, the authenticity of which has been challenged, but apparently for no good reason; see Birch, C. S., iii. 589, last line. The almost total absence of a vowel after the *m* is much against the explanation 'Ruma's borough.' Dr Wyld explains the Lancs. Rumworth as 'Ruma's worth,' and at the same time gives us *Rumburgh* as the form of Rumburgh, Suff., as occurring in the Catalogue of Ancient Deeds, ii. A. 3289, dated 1409. This is the best spelling, and supports my explanation.

Bury. This form occurs alone, and represents the A.S. *byrig*, dat. case of *burh*, a borough. The dat. case is common in place-names, as the prep. *æt*, 'at,' was often either expressed or understood before them. Hence, for example, the surname Atterbury, from the A.S. formula *æt thǣre byrig*, 'at the borough.' At a later time, when the dative had been assimilated to the nominative, and the gender of the substantive had been changed from fem. to masc., we find the formula *at then borough*, which gave the surname Attenborough. The town's name also appears as Bury St Edmund's, 'at the borough of St Edmund'; from the famous East Anglian king and saint who was buried there, and whose death is fully described by Ælfric, in his Lives of the Saints. The A.S. Chronicle gives his slaughter by the Danes under the date 870; and the form 'sancte Eadmundes byrig' in 1107. In an A.S. Charter dated 945, Bury is alluded to as "in loco qui dicitur *æt Bæderices wirthe*"; and again, in Ethelweard's Chronicle, under the date 870, as "*in..Beaduricesuuyrthe*"; so that the original name of Bury was really 'Beadurīc's worth.' See the suffix worth (below).

Beadurīc is compounded of *beadu*, battle, and *rīc*, dominion. Misspelt and explained 'power in prayer' in Bygone Suffolk, p. 79.

CHEDBURGH. To the S.W. of Bury. Despite the modern form, I refer this to the suffix *bury*, though it makes no difference to the sense. Spelt *Chedburye*, Ipm.; *Cedeberia* (with Norman *ce* for *che*), D.B., p. 208. Dr Copinger gives several spellings, of which the best are:—*Cheddebur*, *Chedeberi*, *Chedeberwe*, *Chedebor'*, *Chedebury*. It is hardly possible to say whether the suffix was *bergh* or *bury*; I only place it here for convenience, though I suspect that it once ended in *bergh*, despite the spelling *Chedburye* in Ipm. (A.D. 1262). The prefix *Chede-* represents the A.S. *Ceddan*, gen. of the known name *Cedda*; hence the sense is 'Cedda's bury,' or 'Cedda's barrow.' For the suffix *bergh*, 'a barrow,' see BABERGH (above).

KETTLEBURGH. Near Framlingham. I suppose that the suffix was at first *bury*, in deference to the forms in D.B., viz. *Cetelbirig*, p. 27, *Chettlebiriga*, p. 26, *Ketelbiria*, p. 89; but it also has *Kettleberga*, p. 134, and we find *Ketelebruge* (for *-burge*) in R.B. But the suffix was certainly confused with *bergh*, 'a barrow' (see BABERGH), as shown by *Ketelberghe*, Ipm., *Keteleber'*, H.R., *Kettleberg*, T.N. The prefix is exactly the same as in Kettlewell, in the West Riding, which, as Prof. Moorman explains, is not from a genitive *Ketils*, but from a genitive *Ketilan*, in which the *-an* gave rise to the *-e* in *Ketel-e-* in some of the forms above. Ketila was a pet name for some form beginning with Ketel- or Ketil-, such as Ketelberht or Ketil-frith. Hence the sense is 'Ketila's bury'; possibly 'Ketila's barrow.' *Ketil*, Norse *Ketill*, was a famous Scandinavian name, and appears in many Norwegian place-names. This is a clear case of Norse influence.

SUDBURY. "Anciently called South-Burgh, as Norwich is said to have been called North-Burgh," Kirby. Here there is no doubt as to the suffix, nor as to the origin of the name. We find *Sutberie* in D.B., p. 12; *Suthbury*, Ipm.; *Sudbyr'*, H.R.; from the dat. case *Suthbyrig*, which actually occurs (with reference to Sudbury) in a Suffolk document known as the Will of Ælfflæd; see Birch, C.S. iii. 603, l. 7. Hence the sense is 'South bury'; from the A.S. *sūth*, south.

6. Bourn.

Bourn means a burn, or small river (A.S. *burn*); and occurs in Blackbourn, the name of a hundred, and in the place-names Newbourn and Sudbourn; all of obvious origin.

Blackbourn. This appears in D.B., p. 11, as *Blacbruna h'.* and *Blackebrune*, p. 313, and means 'black bourn.' Ixworth, Bardwell, and Fakenham are all in Blackbourn hundred; so that the stream here intended is that which flows by all these places, and enters the Little Ouse below Euston Park.

Newbourn. This is the name of a village, which is so called from a stream that flows through it southward, and then, turning to the east, enters the river Deben at Kirton Creek, to the N.E. of Kirton. Curiously enough, the name is very old, and occurs as *Neuburne* in R.B.; *Neubrunna*, D.B., p. 178. Dr Copinger gives several old spellings of it, all without any reference. However, the sense is obvious.

Sudbourne. To the S.W. of Aldeborough. Spelt *Sutburna* in D.B., p. 72; *Sudburna*, D.B., p. 207; *Sutborne* in a late A.S. charter, in Kemble, C.D. iv. 245, l. 7 from the bottom. From the A.S. *sūth-burn*, i.e. 'South burn.' Sudbourne Marshes are traversed by a maze of confluent streams, the waters of which find their way to the river Alde. Sudbourne Park is considerably to the south of the village, and the reference may be to the stream which flows from the Park into the Butley river.

7. Bridge.

This suffix, of obvious meaning, only occurs in Risbridge and Woodbridge.

Risbridge. This is the name of a hundred only, in the extreme west and south-west of the county. The chief river hereabouts is the Stour, and the hundred may well have been named from a bridge over it, in the days when bridges were scarce. We find the forms *Risbrigg*, H.R.; *Risebrige*, T.N.; and *Risebruge* in D.B., p. 11. The *e* in *Rise-* strongly suggests the genitive suffix *-en*, later form of *-an*, from a personal name

in *-a*. Both in Ris-bridge and in Ris-by, we should suppose that the reference is to the maker of the bridge or to the founder of the town or village. If the name is that also found in Risborough (Bucks.) it certainly had an *h* before the *r*. With respect to Risborough, we find three forms of various dates, viz. *Hrisan*, gen. of *Hrisa*; the later form *Hrisen*, for *Hrisan*; and the form *Hris-*, without any suffix at all. The references are as follows:—*Hrisan-byrge*, Thorpe, Diplomatarium, p. 153, last line; *Hrisan-beorgan*, id. p. 553; *Hrisen-beorgas*, id. p. 549; *Hris-beorge*, id. p. 331, l. 5. I should therefore explain Risbridge as meaning 'Hrīsa's bridge.' There was also a Norse name Hrīsi; see RISBY. Hrīsa was probably its Anglo-Saxon equivalent.

WOODBRIDGE. The sense is obvious. But it is worth notice that the Norman often pronounced *wood* (A.S. *wudu*) as *'ood*, without the *w*. Hence we find the spelling *Udebryge* in D.B., p. 27; but, by the time the scribe (or another scribe) arrived at p. 90, he found it better to spell it *Wudebryge*.

8. BROOK.

This well-known suffix occurs in Holbrook, Rushbrooke, Stradbroke, Washbrook, and Wickhambrook.

HOLBROOK. Spelt *Holebrok*, Ipm.; *Holebroc*, H.R.; D.B., p. 29; A.S. *Holen-brōc*, with reference to Suffolk (according to Kemble, Cod. Dipl. iv. 110, l. 4); but a better form is *Holan-brōc(e)* for which Kemble gives many references. Here *holan* is for *holum*, the old dative form. The place-name is best represented by the nom. *hol brōc*, 'hollow-brook'; i.e. a brook whose banks rise above it. The brook flows into the Stour at Holbrook Bay.

RUSHBROOKE. Spelt *Rescebroc*, H.R.; *Ryscebroc*, D.B., p. 166; *Ryssebroc*, in Ælfgar's Will, in Thorpe, Diplom. p. 508; better *Riscbrōc*, Birch, C.S. ii. 81. From A.S. *risc* (also *resce*), a rush; and *brōc*. The sense is 'rush brook.'

STRADBROKE. There is here but a small brook, flowing northward towards the Waveney. We find *Stradbroke maner'*

de Eia honore, with reference to Eye; Ipm. Ill spelt *Statebroc*, D.B., p. 137. In Matt. v. 41, where the A.V. has "a mile," the Latin version has *mille passus*, and the A.S. version has *thūsend stapa*, lit. "a thousand of steps"; but the Northumbrian version has *thūsend strādena*, showing that there was once a word *strǽda*, m., or *strǽde*, f., meaning "a stride" or "a step," the obvious original whence the verb *to straddle* is derived. Hence Stradbrook simply means 'a brook across which one can easily stride' or straddle.

Washbrook. To the S.W. of Ipswich. The brook flows eastward into the Orwell. The etymology is by no means obvious, as it has only been associated with the verb *to wash* in popular etymology. There was a personal name *Wassa*, gen. *Wassan*, whence the tribe of Wassings; as appears in various names in Kemble's Index, such as *Wassan-burne* (Washbourn), *Wassan-dūn*, *Wassan-ham*, *Wassing-burg* (Washingborough, Linc.), *Wassinga-tūn* (Washington, Suss.), *Wassing-well*. The original sense was 'Wassa's brook'; whence the old spelling *Wassebroc* (Copinger).

Wickhambrook. Compounded of Wickham and brook. Not connected, except by the accident of name, with Wickham Market (see pp. 63, 64), which is exactly to the east of it, but more than thirty miles away. The brook flows eastward into the Glen and so joins the Stour.

9. By.

This suffix is of much interest, as it is well known to be a sure indication of Danish occupation. We find that such occupation was after all, in this county, really very slight. There are but four examples, viz. Ashby, Barnaby (or Barnby), Risby, and Wilby. The two former are within a few miles of the east coast; and Wilby is only some twenty miles from it. Risby, however, is far from the same, farther even than Bury. By is the modern Dan. *by*, Old Dan. *byr*, Icel. *býr* (more commonly *bœr*), a farmhouse, farm, or town; allied to Dan. *bo*, Icel. *būa*, A.S. *būan*, to build.

ASHBY. It is extremely unlikely that *Ash* should here be a true English word, as it would hardly combine with a true Norse suffix such as *-by*. It has been proved by Björkman that the English often accommodated Norse words to their own pronunciation; and it is to be noted that Copinger records, as old spellings of this name, not only *Asheby*, but *Askeby*, a spelling which frequently occurs in Ipm. We even find Ashby in Lincs., where the old form is Askeby. The prefix Aske- represents the form *Aska*, gen. sing. of *Aski*, a Norse personal name. The real meaning is 'Aski's town.'

BARNABY, BARNBY; to the S.W. of Lowestoft. The same name as Barnby-on-Don, in the W. Riding, which is spelt *Barnaby*, *Barneby* in Ipm. For the Suffolk Barnaby, D.B. has *Barnebei*, p. 5; *Barne-by*, p. 43. This is a clear indication, as Prof. Moorman points out, that the former element in the name is not from the A.S. *Beorna*, but from the Dan. personal name *Barni* (gen. *Barna*), a name recorded by Nielsen in his *Old danske Personnavne*. The sense is 'Barni's farm,' or 'Barni's town.'

RISBY. At no great distance from Bury. Spelt *Riseby*, T.N.; *Ryseby*, H.R.; *Risby*, Ipm. Kemble also has Riseby, in his Charter no. 984; but the spelling is very late, and of little value. D.B., p. 152, has *Risebi*. I explain the prefix as being like that in RISBRIDGE (above), and suppose that it began with *Hr*. Moreover, it was probably Danish. Hence *Rise-* may have represented the Icel. *Hrīsa*, gen. of *Hrīsi*, which occurs as a nickname; see Corpus Poeticum Boreale, ed. Vigfússon and Powell, vol. ii. p. 315, l. 165; *Sigurðr Hrísi Haraldz sonr*; i.e. Sigurðr, nicknamed Hrísi, son of Harold. If this be right, the sense is 'Hrísi's farm' or 'Hrísi's town.' So also in RISBRIDGE.

WILBY. To the E.S.E. of Eye. Spelt *Wileby*, T.N.; *Wilebegh*, Ipm.; *Wilebey*, D.B., p. 97. The D.B. form in *-bey* must be significant, since Dr Copinger cites, from other sources, such spellings as Wilbeghe, Wilebeigh, Wilbey, Wilbeye, Wilbeygh, Wilebegh, Wylebeg.

At p. xxi of his Introduction to the W. Riding Place-names,

Prof. Moorman has the following note on the termination *-by*. "This word existed in Old Danish in the form *-byr* (Mod. Dan. *by*), and though this form is not unknown in Old Norse, the usual O.N. form is *bör* [or *bœr*]. Phonology shows that O.N. *bör* would have become Mid. Eng. *bé*, in just the same way that O.N. *slögr*, sly, became M.E. *sléy*." It thus becomes clear that, in this place-name, we have to do, not with the usual Dan. *by*, but with the corresponding O. Norwegian *bör* (Norw. *bö* in Aasen). This shows us that the settler in Wilby was not a Dane, but a Norwegian.

We should expect the prefix Wil- to represent the gen. of a Norse name. Egilsson gives two examples of the name *Vili*, gen. *Vila*. The O.N. *V* was, in A.S. times, a *W*, when Vili would have been Wili. I therefore propose to explain Wilby as meaning 'Wili's farm' or town. The final *-a* in the gen. Wila was easily lost, as in Ris-by (above).

10. Camp.

I have discussed this suffix in the Place-names of Cambs., showing that it represents A.S. *camp*, a field, not really an A.S. word, but borrowed from the L. *campus*. The Supplement to Bosworth and Toller now gives us four good examples.

Bulcamp. A hamlet one mile N.W. of Blythburgh (Kelly). Spelt *bolecamp*, H.R.; *Bulecampe*, D.B., p. 105. Copinger also cites *Bulchamp* (with French *champ*), and *Bulfelda*, where *felda* (field) translates *camp*. The D.B. prefix *bule-* represents the A.S. *bulan*, gen. of *bula*, a bull; see *bula* in the Supplement to the A.S. Dict. The sense is 'bull's field.' Or, if Bula were used as a name, 'Bula's field.'

11. Clay.

This is the usual E. *clay*; it occurs in Hinder-clay.

Hinderclay. The *n* in this form is comparatively modern; all the old forms have *l* in place of it, and the form in D.B. is *Hilderclea*, p. 168. In a late copy of Ulfketel's bequest to the Abbey at Bury, it appears as *Hildercle*; see Birch, C.S., iii. 216, last line. It is not from the A.S. *hild*, battle (gen. *hildi*), as

this will not account for the *r*; but from the O. Norse feminine personal name *Hildr*, of which the gen. was *Hildar*; see Björkman. Hence the literal sense is 'Hildr's clay,' with reference to a farm with a clay soil. Hildr (as said above) was the name of a woman.

12. Dale.

This is a well-known suffix, of obvious meaning; it only occurs in Botesdale and Withersdale.

Botesdale. The spelling *Botolvesdale* occurs in H.R.; which explains it at once as representing 'Bōtwulf's dale.' Bōtwulf, mod. E. Botolph, is a well-known name, and is often shortened to Botulf and Botolf; the spelling Botolph is of course absurd, though perfectly common. The spelling with *o* is Norman; they turned the A.S. *wulf* into *wolf*, but they did not thereby affect the sound of it.

Withersdale. To the N. of Fressingfield, and not far from the river Waveney. Spelt *Wytherisdal* in H.R. But Copinger also records the spellings *Wetheresdale*, *Wethersdale*, which are better. *Wetheres* is the gen. case of the A.S. *wether*, a young ram. The sense is 'Wether's dale'; for Wether must have been a man's name, as the *-es* suggests.

13. Dene.

The suffix *dene* represents the A.S. *denu*, a valley. It is sometimes confused in old documents with *-don*, representing the A.S. *dūn*, a down, and they cannot always be distinguished. But they are kept apart in Suffolk, if we include, as I believe we should, the name Hundon among the *denes* and Darmsden among the *downs*. I keep them separate.

Dene or -den occurs in Depden, Elveden, Framsden, Frostenden, Hundon, Monewden, Owsden, Rattlesden, Wantisden, and Wetherden.

Depden. To the S.W. of Bury. The old spellings are: *Depeden*, H.R., T.N.; *Depedene*, R.B.; *Depdana*, D.B., p. 236. Cf. *Depeden* (Essex), Ipm. And we find 'to dēopan dæne,' Birch, C.S. ii. 135. The D.B. often denotes the A.S. *denu*,

a dene or valley, by *-dana*. The sense is simply 'deep valley.' The long *e* has been shortened, by the stress, before the following *pd*.

Elveden, or Elden (Kelly). To the S.W. of Thetford. Spelt *Elveden*, H.R.; T.N.; R.B.; *Elvedena*, D.B., p. 156. From the A.S. *Ælfan denu*, 'Ælfa's valley'; where Ælfa is a pet-name for a name beginning with Ælf-, such as Ælf-rēd or Ælf-rīc. An example of the name Ælfa (ill-spelt Ælffa) occurs in Thorpe, Diplomat., p. 562, l. 2.

Framsden. To the S.E. of Debenham. Spelt *Framesden*, T.N.; *Framisden*, H.R.; *Framesdena*, D.B., p. 36. From the A.S. *Frames denu*, lit. 'Fram's valley.' Searle instances a moneyer named Fram. It is simply the A.S. *fram*, valiant; an adj. well fitted to be used as an epithet.

Frostenden. N. by W. from Southwold. Spelt *Frosteden*, *Frostenden*, T.N. Copinger also notes the forms *Frosenden*, *Frossenden*, as if the *t* had been inserted; and when we compare these with the form *Froxedena*, in D.B., p. 268, we may feel tolerably sure that such was really the case, and that the form in D.B. was the original one; especially when we further compare it with the A.S. *Froxafeld*, which occurs in Birch, C.S., iii. 432, l. 22, and is the modern Froxfield (Hants.). Froxa is the gen. pl. of *frox*, a frog; and the sense is 'frogs' valley.' The form Frossenden may be compared with the A.S. variant *froscan*, for *forscan*, gen. sing.; cf. Forscan-feld, Birch, C.S., i. 452.

Hundon. To the N.W. of Clare. The form is modern, and it was formerly Hunden. It appears as *Hunden*, Ipm.; *Huneden*, H.R.; *Hunendana*, D.B., p. 218. The A.S. prefix was Hunan, as in Hunan-bricg and Hunan-weg, both in Kemble's Index. Moreover, the *u* was long; and several Hūnas are recorded. The sense is 'Hūna's valley,' which suits the position of the village.

Monewden. Sometimes Monoden (Kirby). Five miles S.W. of Framlingham railway-station. Spelt *Monewedon*, Ipm.; *Mungeden*, T.N. The *w* represents an older *g*; Copinger cites a spelling *Monegedene*, and we find *Munegadena*,

D.B., p. 90; *Mungadena*, D.B., p. 135; *Mungedena*, D.B., p. 134; *Mangedena*, D.B., p. 134. The suffix is the A.S. *denu*, a valley; the oldest forms of the prefix are, apparently, those in D.B., viz. *Munega, Munga, Munge, Manga.* I find no A.S. forms which will account for these, and I do not know their origin. As a possible guess, I suggest that the prefix may have arisen from the O.Norse fem. personal name *Mundgerðr*, from which, according to Rygh, the Scand. place-name Munge-rud is derived. If this should be right, the sense would be 'Mundgerthr's valley.'

Owsden (Kelly), or Ousden. Near Lidgate, towards the western border of the county. Old spellings are: *Ovesden*, T.N.; *Ovisdene*, Ipm.; *Ovesdene*, R.B.; *Uvesden*, H.R.; and *Vuesdana*, for *Uvesdana*, D.B., p. 45. Kemble gives Ufesford as a place-name; but, according to Birch, this is a misreading. He also gives Ufford as the old form of Ufford (Northants.), but this may be a contracted form; see the account of the Suffolk Ufford below. Searle gives several examples of the personal name Ufa (of the weak declension, genitive Ufan); corresponding to which we might expect to find the form Ufe (of the strong declension, genitive Ufes). Similarly, corresponding to the weak form Ofa (six examples), a strong form Ofe is known. Hence the form Ufe may safely be assumed; so that the original sense of the place-name was 'Ufe's valley.'

Rattlesden. To the W. of Stowmarket. Spelt *Ratlesdene*, H.R.; R.B.; *Ratilisden*, Ipm.; *Ratlesden*, T.N.; *Ratlesdena*, D.B., p. 165. Rattlesden is certainly referred to in a Charter of Edward the Confessor, printed in Kemble, C.D., iv. 245, where we find:—"in comitatu Sudfolc, Hertest, Glemesford, Hecham, *Rattesdene*," &c. But the copy is not very well spelt, and we may suspect that the form intended was Ratlesdene, in conformity with all the other evidence. An A.S. *Ratles would imply a nom. *Ratel; or, if we compare the A.S. *hrætel-wyrt*, answering to our modern *rattle-wort*, we might infer such a form as *Hrætel. In any case, we may assume that the valley here discussed was named from a man whose personal designation was *Ratel or *Hrætel. There we must leave it, for want of evidence.

WANTISDEN. Three miles to the S.E. of Wickham Market railway station (Kelly). Old spellings are: *Wantesden*, Ipm.; *Wantesdena*, D.B., pp. 32, 207. Apparently the sense is 'Want's valley.' The personal name Want is recorded in the Liber Vitæ of Durham.

WETHERDEN. To the N.W. of Stowmarket. Spelt *Wetherdone* (error for *Wetherdene*, as other records show), Ipm.; *Wetherden*, *Weatherden*, cited by Copinger; *Wederdena*, D.B., p. 159, with *d* for *th*. A simple compound, meaning 'wether-valley.'

14. DOWN.

In names that end in *-don*, the suffix is the unstressed form of *down*, A.S. *dūn*, a hill.

Examples occur in Ballingdon, Brandon, Claydon, Darmsden (for Darmsdon), Hawkedon, Raydon, Reydon, and Thorndon.

BALLINGDON. A hamlet near Sudbury. I find no old spellings. If the form is correct, it may mean 'down (or hill) of the Bællings,' or of 'the sons (or family) of Bæll.' Bæll is recorded as a personal name. Cf. D.B., Balles-bi, i.e. Balby (Yorks.).

BRANDON, or BRANDON FERRY (Kelly). Spelt *Braundone*, R.B.; *Brandona*, D.B., p. 202; *Brandone* (late), in Kemble, C.D., iv. 245. I explain it from the O. Norse *Branda*, gen. of *Brandi*, a weak form used beside the strong form *Brandr* (gen. *Brands*). See the account of Brandr in Rygh, who shows that Brandr was in very common use, and that Brandi also occurs in place-names. The sense is 'Brandi's down.' Brand- occurs also in English in compounds, such as Brand-wulf. The result is conjectural.

CLAYDON. To the E. of the river Gipping. It occurs in D.B. as the name of a hundred, distinct from Bosmere; but Bosmere and Claydon are now taken together as forming but one hundred. Spelt *Cleydon*, H.R.; T.N.; Ipm. But D.B. has *Claindune* or *Claindone* frequently, with *Clain-* as the former element, in which the *n* must be accounted for. It may easily represent the adjectival suffix *-en*; the form *clayen*, 'made of clay,' or 'clayey,' occurs in Wyclif's translation of Job iv. 19 (N.E.D.). The sense is 'clayey down.'

Darmsden. To the S.E. of Needham Market. The name originally ended in *-don* or *-doun*, representing the A.S. *dūn*, a down. Copinger gives *Dermodesdon, Dormesdon*; but more important spellings are those in D.B. and Ipm. D.B. has *Dermodesduna*, pp. 28, 205; and Ipm. has the still fuller form *Deormondesdoune*, p. 218; which explains it at once. *Deormondes* represents the A.S. *Dēormundes*, gen. of *Dēormund* (a known name); and the original sense was 'Dēormund's down.'

Hawkedon. Nearly to the S.S.E. of Bury, in the direction of Clare. Old spellings are: *Haukdon*, T.N., Ipm.; *Haukedon*, H.R.; *Hauochenduna*, D.B., p. 136 (with *che* for *ke*); *Hauokeduna*, D.B., p. 232. At first sight, we might suppose that *Hauochen-* answers to the A.S. *Heafecan*, given as occurring in *Heafecanberh*, in Kemble's Charters, nos. 291 and 292; but, according to Birch's revision of these charters, the name has here been misread, and appears in the charters in the forms *Heasecan* (thrice) and *Heahsecan* (once); proving that the supposed Heafecan has no real authority. The form in D.B. can hardly be correct, as the O. Merc. *hafoc*, A.S. *heafoc*, is a strong masculine (gen. *hafoces, heafoces*), no case of which can end in *-an*. It is therefore worth noting that Copinger also gives the old spellings *Haukesden* and *Hawkesden*, though without a reference. Kemble has several forms beginning with Hafoces- (followed by *hlǣw, ōra, pyt*, and *tūn*), so that the D.B. form should rather have been Hauochesduna. That Hafoc was a man's name, with a gen. Hafoces, can be safely concluded from its frequent occurrence in place-names. We find Hawkesbury (Glouc.), Hawksdale (Cumb.), Hawksdown (Devon), Hawkshead (Lancs.), and Hawkesworth (Notts); besides Hauxton (Cambs.), which is merely a form of Hawkston. It is known that the genitival *-s* disappeared, occasionally, at rather an early date, in some place-names, whilst in others it has remained. The probable sense, in this case, is 'Hawk's down'; where Hawk (O. Merc. *Hafoc*) was a personal name. This can be proved by two considerations: (1) the occurrence of *Hafeces hlāw*, i.e. 'Hawk's burial-mound,' in Birch, C.S., ii. 377, l. 18; and (2) the fact

that the Icel. *haukr*, 'a hawk,' was a common personal name (Rygh).

Raydon and Raydon St Mary are to the S.E. of Hadleigh; Reydon lies to the N.W. of Southwold, far from the others. Both were formerly spelt with *ei* or *ey*; so that we may select Reydon as being the better form. Old spellings are: *Reydon*, Ipm.; *Reidune*, H.R.; *Reydon*, T.N.; but D.B. has *Reinduna*, p. 194. *Rey* is an occasional form of E. *rye*, A.S. *ryge*; and the D.B. form *rein* represents the A.S. adj. *rygen*, belonging to or abounding in rye. We actually find the A.S. form of *Reydon* in Ælfflæd's Will, in which it is spelt *Rigindūn* (for *Rygendūn*); see Birch, C.S., iii. 603, l. 29. Hence the sense is 'down abounding in rye,' or 'rye-down.' For the form *rey*, see the N.E.D., s.v. *rye*.

Thorndon. To the S. of Eye. Spelt *Thornedon*, R.B.; answering to the A.S. *Thorndūn*, of which Kemble has four examples. The sense is obviously 'thorn down.'

15. Edish, or Eddish.

The prov. E. *eddish* (also written *edish*) is in general dialectical use, with the sense of 'aftermath,' or second crop of grass or clover; the A.S. form being *edisc*. It is the origin of the modern *-dish* in Brundish and Cavendish.

Brundish. Nearly to the N. of Framlingham. Ipm. mentions a *Burnedishe* in Staffs. Copinger gives a number of spellings, among which are *Bornedisce*, *Burnedich(e)*, *Burnedish*, and *Burnedissh(e)*; all of which would result from an A.S. **burn-edisc*. I have no doubt that it means 'bourn-eddish,' i.e. a meadow beside a bourne or stream that was mown for aftermath.

Cavendish. Nearly to the E. of Clare. Spelt *Kavanedis*, *Cavendish*, Ipm.; *Cauenedis*, T.N.; *Cavenedys*, H.R.; *Kauanadis*, D.B., p. 335. The prefix is the same as in Cavenham (below), and represents *Cafan*, the gen. case of the personal name *Cafa*. The sense is 'Cafa's eddish,' or 'Cafa's meadow for aftermath.'

16. Ey.

This very common suffix represents the Anglian *ēg*, A.S. *īeg īg*, an island. It meant not only 'island' in the modern sense, but peninsula, or any piece of land wholly or partially surrounded by brooks or marshy country. In D.B. and Latin documents it is often expressed by *eia*. It occurs alone in Eye, and in composition in Bawdsey, Bungay, Campsey Ashe, Kirsey, and Lindsey.

Eye. It is situate, says Kelly, "at the confluence of two rivulets, in a low situation." One of these streams is the river Dove. Note the spellings *Eye, Eya*, H.R., T.N.; *Eya, Eie, Eye, la Eye*, R.B.; *Eiam* (acc. case), D.B., p. 78. The final *e* is due to the use of the dative case, the prep. *æt* (at) being understood, as usual. Thus, in the A.S. Chronicle, an. 855, we find "on Scēap-īge," i.e. in Sheppey. For the A.S. *īg*, the Anglian, Old Mercian, and Old Norse form was *ēg*, which accounts for the former *e*. The A.S. *īg* is connected with *ēa*, a stream; the two forms are often ignorantly confused.

Bawdsey. The name perhaps belonged originally to Bawdsey Manor, which is at some distance from the present village, and near Bawdsey Point. The reference is to its situation in the peninsula between the river Deben and the sea, which terminates in Bawdsey Point. Old spellings are: *Baudeseye*, Ipm.; *Balders'*, H.R.; *Baldeseia*, D.B., p. 73. But Copinger gives other spellings, such as *Balderescia* (with *c* for *e*), *Baldreseia, Baudersey, Baudreseye, Baudrissey*; which clearly show that the fuller form was *Baldereseye*; and *Balderes-* of course represents the O. Merc. *Baldheres*, gen. of *Baldhere*, the Mercian form of the A.S. *Bealdhere*, a known name. The sense is 'Baldhere's island.'

Bungay. The situation is remarkable, as the river Waveney is here extremely deflected, and forms a horse-shoe bend round the peninsula lying to the N.W. It is therefore on an *eye*, in the old sense of that word. The old spellings are, accordingly, *Bungeye*, H.R.; *Bungeia*, R.B.; *Bongeia*, D.B., p. 15; *Bungheam* (acc. case), D.B., p. 39. The prefix Bung- is of Norse origin;

from the Icel. *bungi*, a convexity, elevation; Norweg. *bunga*, a little heap; closely allied to the Dan. *bunke*, a heap, a pile, and connected with the E. *bunch*. The original sense of the word, according to Falk and Torp's Dan. Etym. Dict., was 'rounded elevation.' The sense is 'rounded elevation on a peninsula'; just as the old name of Durham was Dūn-holm, i.e. 'down-island,' or 'hill-island.' It may be added that I have already given this explanation in my Place-names of Cambridge, where the pronunciation of *ng* as *ngg* is exemplified, as in Gamling-ay.

A favourite derivation of this name was, once upon a time, the F. *bon gué*, or 'good ford' (if there was one). Of course philology forbids the derivation of forms that occur in Domesday Book from modern French; and it is well to remember that the Norman for 'ford' was *guet* or *wet*, and that the Norman did not pronounce *gu* like the *gu* in the F. *gué*, but like the *gu* in *anguish*. The author of this egregious fable has not told us how to obtain the sound of *gay* from that of *gwet*.

Campsea Ashe, or Ashe by Campsea (Kelly). We need not trouble about Ashe, which refers to the familiar tree-name. The place lies between Saxmundham and Woodbridge, and there are several Ashes in the neighbourhood, viz. Ash Corner to the W.; the remains of Mill Ash Abbey to the S.S.W.; and Ash Green and Ash High House to the S.E. The name is spelt Campsey Ash in the Ordnance Map. D.B. has *Campes ea*, p. 26; some other old spellings are quoted by Copinger, viz. *Ashe juxta Campessey, Ayssh juxta Camsey, Campeseia, Campessey*. The suffix appears to be *-ey*, island. As to the prefix, I am uncertain; but Rygh gives a Norse personal name Kampi, as appearing in some place-names, which may have become Camp in English; whence 'Camp's island.'

Kersey. To the N.W. of Hadleigh. I have already discussed this name in a paper for the Philological Society, printed in the Transactions for 1907–10, at p. 253. I there show, in opposition to the statement in the N.E.D. as to there being no known connexion between Kersey and Kersey cloth, that the

Suffolk cloth-making is expressly mentioned in Hall's Chronicle, under the date 1526. Indeed, the poet Skelton, in his piece entitled "Why Come ye nat to Courte," refers to the "cloth-making" of Sprynge of Lanham, ll. 930—2. Dyce, in his note, strangely explains "Lanam" as "Langham in Essex," whereas it is the usual pronunciation of the Suffolk Lavenham, and "the coats of arms of the Springs, wealthy clothiers in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and great benefactors of the church" can still be seen in Lavenham Church; see Bygone Suffolk, p. 76. This proves the point as to the naming of Kersey cloth from Kersey in Suffolk; especially when taken in conjunction with my note upon Lindsey (below). The old spellings are: *Kerseye*, H.R.; *Kareshey* (error for *Karesey*), Ipm.; *Kereseye*, in 1279 (see Bardsley); *Careseia*, D.B., p. 217. All from the A.S. *Cæres-īg*, of which the gen. case *Cæres-īge* occurs in Birch, C.S., iii. 603, l. 3 from the bottom. Here *Cæres* is the gen. of *Cær*, the same name as the *Car* mentioned in Searle. Hence Kersey means "Cær's island" or "Car's island." This name of Car looks like Celtic. Kersey cloth was known in 1376 (Victoria Hist. of Suffolk); and Kersey Priory is as old as 1158.

Lindsey. Not far from Kersey, and associated with it in the old days of the cloth manufacture in Suffolk. But the old name was Lellesey or Lillesey, even as late as the sixteenth century. Old spellings are: *Lelleseye*, Ipm. (A.D. 1263); and Copinger gives *Lelessey*, *Lellesey*, *Lelsey*, as well as *Lillesey*, *Lyllesey*. Ipm. also has a *Lylleseye* in Sussex (perhaps an error for Suffolk). However, the authentic A.S. form was rather Lill than Lell; Kemble's index has *Lilles bēam*, 'Lill's tree,' as well as *Lilles hám*, or 'Lill's home.' Moreover, the related weak form Lilla also appears in the same, as in *Lillan-hrycg*, 'Lilla's ridge,' and *Lillanwelle*, 'Lilla's well.' We may therefore well suppose that the original name meant 'Lill's island.' The subsequent change to Lindsey may have been due to confusion with that name, which was better known. A large portion of Lincolnshire was called Lindsey, which appears even in modern maps. I have already shown, in

my paper on Kersey, that the material called Linsey-wolsey certainly took its name from the Suffolk town; for otherwise it could never have had the name of *Lylse wulse* in the time of Skelton, who, in his poem entitled "Why Come ye nat to Courte," at l. 128, has the expression: "To weve al in one lome [loom] A webbe of *lylse-wulse*"; with a punning reference to his enemy, the cardinal, who was one of the most celebrated men that Suffolk has ever produced. (The spelling *Lynsey* occurs in V.E.)

17. Field.

This is a well-known suffix in place-names, and appears in Ashfield, Bedfield, Bedingfield, Bradfield, Bramfield, Bredfield, Charsfield, Cockfield, Cratfield, Crowfield, Fressingfield, Homersfield, Huntingfield, Laxfield, Metfield, Mickfield, Pakefield, Redlingfield, Ringsfield, Shadingfield, Stanningfield, Stansfield, Sternfield, Waldingfield, Waldringfield, Wattisfield, Westerfield, Whatfield, Wingfield, and Withersfield; i.e. just thirty times.

Ashfield. There is an Ashfield Magna to the N. of Elmswell, and another Ashfield nearly to the E. of Debenham. The meaning is obvious, but the Norman scribes had much ado to spell it, as there was no *sh* in Norman at all. Hence we find in D.B., at p. 193, the form *Asfelda*, at p. 29, *Assefelda*, and at p. 173, *Eascefelda*. And they sometimes spelt Ash as Esse.

Bedfield. Nearly to the N.E. of Debenham, and to the N.W. of Framlingham.

Old spellings are scarce; but Copinger gives the form *Bedefeld*, which is quite satisfactory. Here the prefix *Bede-* represents the A.S. *Bedan*, the gen. case of *Beda*, which is a famous name. The sense of Bedfield is 'Beda's field,' just as that of Bedford is 'Beda's ford.' The name must have been common; and no doubt the men who gave their names to Bedfield and to Bedford were not the same; and the 'venerable Bede' was a third. The last mentioned lived at an early date, when the name was spelt Bæda.

BEDINGFIELD. To the S.E. of Eye. Spelt *Bedingfeld* in Ipm.; D.B. has *Badingafelda*, p. 59, and *Bedingafelda*, p. 276. The correct A.S. form would be *Bedinga feld*, i.e. 'the field of the Bedings' or 'of the sons of Beda.' Beding is the regular patronymic form from that source.

BRADFIELD. Kelly has a Bradfield St Clare and a Bradfield St George; as well as Bradfield Combust or Brent (i.e. burnt) Bradfield, so called because its old hall was burnt in 1327. The old spellings are *Bradefel*, T.N.; *Bradefeld*, H.R.; and *Bradefella*, D.B., p. 21. Bradfield (Sussex) appears as *Bradanfeld* in several A.S. charters; see Kemble's index. Here *brādan* is the weak dat. of the A.S. *brād*, broad; and the sense is 'broad field.' The long *a* is shortened by the stress, before the *df*.

BRAMFIELD. To the S. of Halesworth. Spelt *Bramfeld* H.R.; but *Brunfelda* in D.B., p. 24, under the account of *Walepola* (Walpole). Copinger also notes such spellings as *Bromfield* and *Brumfield*, which are of some help, and show that it is quite different in origin from Bramfield, Herts., which seems to have meant 'Branda's field.' See further under BRAMFORD.

BREDFIELD. To the N. of Woodbridge. Spelt *Bredfelde*, *Bredefeld*, Ipm.; *Bredefelda*, D.B., p. 75. This is a highly interesting example, as it introduces a Frisian form. The prefix is not the A.S. *brād*, broad, as in Bradfield, but the O. Frisian *brēd*, or *breed*, with the same sense. That is, the sense is 'broad field,' as in the former case, but there is a difference of dialect.

CHARSFIELD. To the W. of Wickham Market. Spelt *Charsfeld*, Ipm.; *Ceresfella*, D.B., p. 26; *Cerresfella*, D.B., p. 186. D.B. has *Ce* for E. *Che*, and usually turns the A.S. *feld* (field) into *fella*. In the Crawford Charters, ed. Napier and Stevenson, p. 33, l. 28, we find the spelling *Caresfeld*; a form difficult to account for. The D.B. form *Cerres* may be right. If so, the sense is 'Cerr's field,' the A.S. *Cerr* becoming E. *Char*, as in Cert, the A.S. form of Chart (Kent). The A.S. *Cerr* is suggested by the form *Cerringes*, the A.S. spelling of

Charing (Kent); see Birch, C.S. i. 411; cf. also p. 410, l. 25. Cerring is the patronymic form of Cerr, so that there is evidence for the name.

Cockfield. The railway station is on the line from Bury to Lavenham. Spelt *Cocfelde, Cokefelde,* R.B.; *Cokefeld,* H.R. Oddly spelt *Cochanfelde* in Birch, C.S. iii. 603, l. 1; also *Cokefelde* in a late hand, in the same, p. 604, l. 2. Compare *Coccan-burh* in Kemble's index. The sense appears to be 'Cocca's field.'

Cratfield. Nearly to the E.S.E. of Halesworth, beyond Cookley. Spelt *Cratfeld,* Ipm.; *Cratefeld,* T.N.; Ipm.; *Cratafelda,* D.B., p. 269. The prefix does not appear to be English, but rather Dan. *krat,* a thicket, a copse; Mid. Dan. *krat,* a thorn-bush; Swed. dial. *kratt,* the same. The sense would be 'field covered with brambles.'

Crowfield. To the N.E. of Needham Market. The name has been modified, and its original sense was other than it seems to be. Spelt *Croffeud* (for *Croffeld*), Ipm., p. 55; *Crofelda,* D.B., p. 187. Copinger also records the forms *Croffeld* and *Croftfield.* All of these suggest an A.S. form *croft-feld,* with the sense of 'croft-field'; i.e. a small enclosure.

Fressingfield. Otherwise Fresingfield (Kirby). Spelt *Fresing-feld,* H.R.; *Fresing-feud* (for *-feld*), Ipm., p. 161*a*; *Fresen-feld,* Ipm., p. 161*b*. Copinger also reports the forms *Fresyngefeld, Fresyngfeld,* and the like. But the A.S. form is rightly *Fresena feld,* i.e. 'field of the Frisians,' in agreement with the form *Fresenfeld.* Here *Fresena* is the gen. pl. of *Fresa,* a Frisian. This is a very interesting result; note that there is a similar allusion in the names Freston and Friston.

Homersfield. Kelly has "Homersfield, or St Mary South Elmham." Spelt *Humersfeld,* R.B.; *Humeresfeld,* R.B.; *Humbresfelda,* D.B., p. 197. In the last form the *b* is probably intrusive, as it does not appear in the modern form. *Humeres-* of course represents the gen. case of a masc. personal name, which can hardly have been other than *Hūnmǣr. For,

though this name is not on record, Hūn- (never Hūm-) is a common prefix in such names, and -mær, as in Ælf-mær, Æthel-mær, is a common suffix. I explain this name as 'Hūnmær's field.'

HUNTINGFIELD. Near Heveningham, to the S.W. of Halesworth. Spelt *Huntingefeld*, R.B., Ipm.; *Huntyngfeld*, H.R.; *Huntingafelda*, D.B., p. 61, representing an A.S. Huntingafeld, i.e. 'field of the Huntings.' Hunting is a tribal name, from the personal name Hunta, our modern Hunt. It does not refer to A.S. *huntung*, a hunting.

LAXFIELD. To the W.S.W. of Halesworth. Spelt *Laxfeld*, H.R.; *Laxafella*, D.B., p. 26; *Laxafelda*, D.B., p. 27. Cf. *Lœxa-dyne*, Birch, C.S. iii. 602, l. 9; and *Leaxan oc*, in the same, ii. 510 (in a late copy of a charter). It hence appears that Laxfield represents an A.S. form *Lœxan feld*; where *Lœxan* is the gen. case of *Lœxa*, a personal name. This name is quite un-English, and is obviously founded upon the extremely common Norse word *lax*, 'a salmon.' It was probably a mere epithet, though the original sense may have been 'salmon-er,' i.e. a fisher for salmon. The final *-a* is often agential in Old English.

The D.B. form Laxin-ton (for A.S. Læxan-tun) occurs in the D.B. for Yorkshire. And there are Laxtons in Northants. and Notts.

METFIELD. To the S.E. of Mendham, which is on the Waveney. I find no old spellings; but Copinger records *Metefeld* and *Medefeld*. The latter is obviously the older form, and shows that the old sense was simply 'mead-field,' or 'meadow-field'; i.e. a field for mowing.

MICKFIELD. Near Debenham, westwards. Spelt *Mikelefeld*, T.N.; *Mikelfeld*, Ipm.; *Mucelfelda*, D.B., p. 273. Obviously 'mickle field,' i.e. large field.

The A.S. formula *on miclan feld* occurs in Birch, iii. 342 (no. 1109), which accounts for the hard *k* (*ck*); its preservation is due to the contraction of *micelan* to *miclan* in the dative case. Cf. Micklefield in the West Riding.

PAKEFIELD. To the S. of Lowestoft. Spelt *Paggafella*, D.B., p. 5; with *gg* (hard *g*) for *k*; but Copinger records the forms *Pakefeld* and *Pakelefeld*. The prefix *Pake-* is short for *Paken-*, as in PAKENHAM, which see. *Pakele-* seems to be a diminutive, as if for *Pakelen*, for an A.S. **Pacela*, a weak form allied to the A.S. *Pacel*, as seen in *Pacles-hām* (Kemble). I explain Pakefield as representing 'Paca's field,' with the same prefix as in PAKENHAM.

REDLINGFIELD. To the N. of Debenham. Spelt *Ridlingfeld*, Ipm.; better with *e*, as in *Redelingfeld*, *Redelyngfeld* (Copinger); *Radinghefelda*, D.B., p. 79. In the last form, the *ghe* is for A.S. *ga*, and an *l* or *el* has been omitted; so that it points back to an A.S. *Rædelinga feld* or *Rædlinga feld*. The name of *Rædel* is on record; hence we may explain it as 'the field of the Rædelings,' or Rædlings; or 'the field of the sons (or tribe) of Rædel.'

It is not impossible that contraction has taken place, and that the original form was Rædwulfinga feld, or 'the field of the Rædwulfings.'

RINGSFIELD. To the S. of Beccles. D.B. has *Ringesfella*, p. 4. The prefix Hring- occurs in several A.S. names, though not found alone. But we may take it to be Norse. Rygh says that the Norse Ringr, originally Hringr, was a personal name, and is preserved in a large number of place-names. I explain this as 'Hring's field,' where Hring represents O.N. Hringr, so that it is really 'Hringr's field.' The final *-r* is merely the suffix of the nom. case, and answers to the *-us* in L. *Marc-us*. The prefix Rings- occurs also in RINGSHALL.

SHADINGFIELD. Spelt Shaddingfield by Kirby. Between Beccles and Blythburgh. The *g* is modern, and a better spelling would be Shadenfield. Spelt *Shadenfeld*, H.R.; *Shadnefeud*, Ipm.; *Scadenafella*, D.B., p. 16. Here the *-ena* is the mark of the gen. pl. of a weak noun, and the nom. sing. would be **scada*, or A.S. **sceada*. This exact form is not found; but it evidently resulted from the form *sceatha*, by the substitution of Norman *d* for the voiced *th*; the gen. pl. was

sceathena. Though *sceatha* is literally 'one who does scathe or damage,' it is a fairly common word for robber or thief; and the sense is 'field of thieves.' It might even mean 'field of pirates,' as the compound *wīcing-sceatha* was used in that particular sense. How the field acquired its name, we have no means of knowing, though it would probably be an interesting story, if it could be recovered. As the *a* was originally short, the spelling Shaddingfield can be justified.

Stanningfield. To the S. of Bury. Spelt *Stanefeld*, H.R., Ipm.; *Stanfella*, D.B., p. 21. It is clear that the *-ing* is comparatively modern. The original was probably *stānen feld*, i.e. 'stony field.' The usual adj. is *stǣnen* (with *ǣ*), but *stānen* also occurs; as in the dat. *stānenan bricge*; Birch, C.S. iii. 113, l. 24.

Stansfield. To the N. of Clare, at some distance. Spelt *Stanesfeld*, H.R.; Ipm.; *Stanefeld*, R.B.; *Stanesfelda*, D.B., p. 182. *Stānes* is the gen. case of *Stān*, which is here a man's name, as in Stansfield in the W. Riding. The sense is 'Stan's field.' Stone is now used as a surname.

Sternfield. Near Saxmundham. Spelt *Sternfeld*, Ipm.; *Sternefella*, D.B., p. 72. But an *es* has been lost, in a difficult position between *rn* and *f*; hence we also find *Sternesfella*, D.B., p. 71; *Sternesfelda*, D.B., pp. 33, 128. The apparent meaning is 'Stern's field.' This personal name is not otherwise recorded; but cf. A.S. *styrne*, E. *stern*, adj. 'severe.'

Waldingfield. Spelt *Waldingefeld*, H.R.; Ipm.; *Waldingefelda*, D.B.; p. 159. A.S. *Wealdingafeld*; Birch, C.S. iii. 603; O. Merc. *Waldingafeld*. Meaning: 'field of the Waldings,' or 'of the sons of Walda.'

Waldringfield. Spelt Wandringfeld, misprint for *Waudringfeld* (with *u* for *l*), Ipm.; *Waldringafelda*, D.B., pp. 69, 178. Meaning: 'field of the Wald(he)rings,' or 'sons of Waldhere.' Waldhere is a known name.

Wattisfield. Spelt *Watesfelda*, D.B., pp. 37, 100; but *Watlesfelda*, D.B., p. 170. Copinger also gives *Watlesfeld*,

Watelesfeld, Wattelesfeld. A.S. form **Wætles feld,* where Wætles is the gen. of *Wætel, the strong form allied to Wætela, whence Wætling and Wætlinga strǣt or Watling Street. Sense: 'the field of Wætel.' Though Wætel is not precisely recorded, it is a correct form, and is also the obvious origin of Wateles-tone in Ipm. p. 113.

Westerfield. Spelt *Westerfeld,* Ipm., p. 97; *Westrefelda,* D.B., pp. 28, 29. Meaning: 'field more to the west'; cf. Icel. *vestari, vestri,* more to the west. It is more to the west than Bealings to any one coming from Woodbridge and the river Deben.

Whatfield. Spelt *Whatefeld,* Ipm.; *Quatefeld,* H.R. (with *qu* for *wh*); *Gawatfelda,* D.B., p. 23. A.S. form Hwǣte-feld; meaning 'wheat-field.' Though A.S. has not this precise compound on record, we find *hwāteland,* 'wheat-land,' and *feld* as a suffix. Whatfield was sometimes called Wheatfield (see The Beauties of England). "This Town is chiefly remarkable for growing the most excellent Seed-Wheat"; Kirby.

Wingfield. Spelt *Wyngefeld,* H.R.; also *Wingefeld* in Thurkytel's will, in Thorpe, Diplomat. p. 580; a rather late document. *Winge* represents an earlier *Wingan,* as in *Wingan-hām,* in Kemble's index; from the nom. *Winga.* Meaning: 'Winga's field.' (Distinct from Wingfield, Beds., which was originally Winanfeld, i.e. 'Wina's field.')

Withersfield. Spelt *Wetheresfeld,* Ipm., T.N.; *Wytheresfeld,* H.R.; *Wedresfelda,* D.B., p. 233 (with *d* for *th*). Literally 'wether's field'; cf. Withersdale (above). It is probable that Wether was a personal name.

18. Fleet.

Fleet, A.S. *flēot,* not only means an estuary or shallow channel, but also a shallow stream, or even a drain or ditch; see the E.D.D. It only occurs in Herringfleet.

Herringfleet. As Herringfleet is some four miles inland, it has nothing to do with herrings, though herring is a very

familiar word in that district. How old the prefix Herring may be in this case, I do not exactly know; but in the fourteenth century, at any rate, the form was Herling. Old spellings are: *Herlingflet*, Ipm. p. 223 (as late as 1306); H.R.; *Herlingaflet*, D.B., p. 8. We find *Herlinga-hām* in Thorpe, Diplomat., p. 563, A.D. 1046. The sense is: 'fleet (or shallow stream) of the Herlings,' or 'of the sons of Herla.' *Herle* occurs in A.S. as a prefix in several personal names.

19. Ford.

This well-known suffix occurs in Battisford, Blythford, Boxford, Bramford, Brockford, Carlford, Chillesford, Cosford, Cransford, Culford, Glemsford, Kentford, Lackford, Marlesford, Melford, Mutford, Orford, Playford, Poslingford, Samford, Stratford, Thetford (mostly in Norfolk), Ufford, Wangford, Wilford, and Yoxford.

Fords were once notable places, and it is remarkable how many of them gave names to the hundreds into which the county was divided; as will be noted below.

Battisford. Old spellings; *Batesford*, T.N.; *Batisforde*, Ipm., p. 258; *Battisforde*, Ipm., p. 48; *Betesfort*, D.B., p. 259. If we could depend upon the first vowel in the last form, this would be the same name as *Bettesford*, which occurs in Birch, C.S. iii. 585, l. 13. But it is better to assume a form Battesford, which would mean 'Batt's ford.' The name Batt has not been hitherto noted, but the allied weak form Bata occurs in *Batancumb*, in Kemble's index. Cf. Batsford, Glouc.

Blythford or Blyford. Spelt *Blideforda*, D.B., p. 150. The usual modern Blyford is due to a Norman pronunciation, and is of rather early date. Compare *Blyford* in Ipm.; which probably refers to Blythford, though said to be in Norfolk. The sense is, of course, 'ford through the river Blithe.' In the Will of Eadwine, dated 1060, but extant in a late and ill-spelt copy, occurs the strange form Blitleford, which is probably an error for Blitheford; see Thorpe, Diplomat. p. 590, l. 15.

Boxford. Spelt *Boxford*, H.R.; Ipm. The sense is 'ford near the box-tree.' Fords are often named from trees that serve to mark the spot. Compare Boxford in Berks. The river Box is named from Boxford.

Bramford. Spelt *Bramford*, Ipm.; *Branfort*, D.B., p. 2; *Branfort*, D.B., p. 17 (both incorrect forms). Copinger also gives the spellings *Braumforde* and *Bromford*.

Bram probably represents the prov. E. *brame*, a blackberry, though the name has not been recorded earlier than 1425 (see N.E.D. or E.D.D.); but the dimin. *brǽmel* occurs in A.S., and is now *the bramble*. I suppose that the name meant 'ford near the bramble.' Our *bramble* is etymologically connected with *broom*, which may account for the spelling Bromford (above) just as Bromfield means 'broom field.'

Brockford. Spelt *Brocford*, H.R.; T.N.; *Brockfort*, D.B., p. 161. The sense is 'brook-ford' or 'ford through the brook.' The long *o* in the A.S. *brōc*, a brook, is shortened in the stressed syllable before *cf*. Compare Bromfield for 'broom-field.'

Carlford. The name of a hundred. Spelt *Carlesford*, H.R.; but *Carleford* in D.B., p. 4. *Carleford* represents the A.S. *carla ford*, where *carla* is the gen. pl. of *carl*, a churl, a rustic, not an English word, but borrowed from the Norse *karl*, a churl, a peasant. *Carlesford* is an alternative form, from the gen. sing. *carles*. The sense is 'churls' ford' or 'churl's ford'; where churl means a rustic, a peasant.

Chillesford. Formerly *Cheselford*, H.R.; *Cesefortda*, D.B., p. 32 (with inserted *t* and lost *l*). Copinger also gives the forms *Chesilford*, *Chesylford*, *Chyselford*. All from the A.S. *ceosel*, *cisel*, M.E. *chisel*, gravel; showing that *Chilles* is a mere perversion of *Chisel*, as in Chiselhurst (Kent). The sense is 'gravel-ford' or 'gravelly ford.'

Cosford. The name of a hundred. Formerly *Corsford*, H.R.; *Corsforth*, Ipm.; *Corsforde*, D.B., p. 176. *Cors* was a river-name, also spelt *Corsa*. Kemble's index has *Cors-brōc*, '*Cors-brook*'; *Corsa-burne*, '*Corsa-bourne*'; *Corsan-strēam*,

'Corsa's stream,' which was also simply called *Corsa*. Hence also *Corsan-tūn*, or 'town on the Corsa'; see Birch, C.S. ii. 498. The sense is 'ford through the Cors.' The meaning of Cors is unknown; it looks like the Welsh *cors*, a fen; cf. *corsen*, a reed.

CRANSFORD. Spelt *Cranesford*, Ipm.; but *Craneforda*, D.B., p. 35. The sense is 'crane's ford.' Cf. Cranford (crane ford), Middlesex, and such names as Ox-ford, Swin-ford, Hors-ford. When an animal's name is prefixed to a ford, it roughly indicates the depth.

CULFORD. Spelt *Culeforda*, D.B., p. 167; *Culeforde* (dative) in Birch, C.S. iii. 219, in a late A.S. charter. We can hardly dissociate this name from the curious form *Culum-ford*, which occurs in Birch, C.S. ii. 432; which must be further compared with the expression seven lines below, viz. "on tha lace adun on *culum*; up of *culum* on tha ealdan lace." Middendorf (in his Altenglisches Flurnamenbuch, Halle, 1902, p. 33) explains *cūle* as a weak fem., meaning 'a hole, depression, pit,' like the E. Fries. *kūle*, Du. *kuil*. If this be right, *Culeforde* represents an earlier A.S. *Cūlanforda*, dat., meaning 'ford near the hole, or pit, or hollow.' And the above passage means: "along the stream down into the pits; up out of the pits to the old stream." *Culum* is the dat. pl.

GLEMSFORD. Spelt *Glemesford*, H.R.; and in Kemble, Cod. Dipl. iv. 245. Also *Clamesford* (with *C* for *G*), D.B., p. 203. Apparently, for A.S. *Glǣmesford, or 'ford of Glæm.' But no such personal name is on record. See GLEMHAM.

KENTFORD. Spelt *Kenteford*, H.R.; *Kentford*, Ipm., p. 314. Short for Kennetford; 'ford through the river Kennet.' Kennet is a known river-name; known to be of Celtic origin; spelt *Cyneta* in A.S.; from a Celtic type *Cunetio. Cf. Kintbury in Berks.

LACKFORD. To the N.W. of Bury. "Lackford, the ford over the Lark, just where that parish [i.e. Lackford] joins Icklingham All Saints"; Raven's Suffolk; p. 64. Lackford

is also the name of a hundred; and it is remarkable that this hundred took its name from the place, as the latter is really in Thingoe hundred, and just outside Lackford hundred itself. Spelt *Lakford*, H.R.; *Lacforda*, D.B., p. 45. From the A.S. *lacu*, a running stream. [This word is often confused with the L. *lacus*, but the A.S. word cognate with *lacus* (and not borrowed from it) is *lagu*; and the E. *lake* is merely borrowed from the F. *lac*.] But the native word *lacu* is still extant in the prov. E. *lake*, explained in the E.D.D. as meaning 'a brook, rivulet, or stream,' very common in S.W. dialects. There is, in fact, *no* lake at Lackford, but there is a stream. The name means 'stream-ford,' or 'ford through the stream.' The modern name of the stream is the Lark; and it is much to be suspected that this singular name arose from the M.E. *lake* (from *lacu*), in which the *a* was pronounced as in *father* and in *lark* (if the *r* be suppressed). Another name for the Lark is (or was) the Burn, which means bourn or stream, and merely translates the A.S. *lacu*. I further suspect that the Linnet, which flows into the Lark at Bury, received its name from playful association with that of the larger river. Both names are comic.

Marlesford. Near Wickham Market. Spelt *Marleford*, Ipm.; *Marlesforda*, D.B., p. 11; *Merlesford*, D.B., pp. 12, 27. The sense is 'Mærl's ford' or 'Mærle's fond.' The name Mærl (or Mærle) may safely be said to be of Norse origin, as it is recorded in the compound Mærle-swegen, of which Searle gives four examples; and see Mærleswegen in Björkman. The suffix *swegen* is certainly Norse, as it is an A.S. spelling of O. Norse *sveinn* (E. *swain*).

Melford, often Long Melford. Spelt *Meleford*, H.R.; Ipm.; *Melaforda*, D.B., p. 157. There are several Milfords in other counties; but connexion with these is doubtful, as 'mill' would hardly appear as *Mela* in D.B. The prefixes *Mela-*, *Mele-* rather suggest connexion with the A.S. *Mælan*, gen. of *Mæla*, as in *Mælan beorh*, in Birch, C.S. ii. 291, l. 3. If this be right, the sense is 'Mæla's ford'; but it is only a guess.

The Mel- in Melton and Mellis appears to be quite distinct from that in Melford.

Mutford. This is the name of a hundred as well as of a village. Spelt *Mutford, Mutteford,* H.R.; *Mutford* and *Mutforda,* D.B., p. 5; but *Muthford* in Ipm., p. 26 (A.D. 1263), which is an important variant, and may be taken to represent an older form. It is not easy to find the ford referred to, but I think it must be near Mutford Hall, where a stream flows into the Hundred River, if I rightly understand the ordnance map. The name may signify as much, if we connect it with the A.S. *mūtha,* the mouth of a river, the place where one river meets another. If this be right, the sense is 'ford near the junction of the streams.' A similar explanation is given of Mitton in Worcestershire; viz. from the A.S. variant *mythe,* with the same sense. And the compound *mȳthford* is found in Birch, C.S. ii. 481, l. 21.

Orford. This also is the name of a former hundred, though no longer in use for that purpose. The place is on the N.W. bank of the river Alde. Formerly *Oreford,* H.R., T.N., Ipm. From the A.S. *ōra,* a border, edge, bank; meaning 'ford at the bank or shore.' Perhaps it was where the ordnance map marks the Quay and the Ferry. On one side of the Alde is the mainland; on the other, the King's Marshes. I find, in the Victoria Hist. of Suffolk, i. 57, that the river Alde was called the Ore below Aldeburgh; and at p. 29, I find "the Ore or Alde." This at once suggests that Orford was taken to mean the 'ford through the Ore'; but that this is the true origin may be doubted. It is much more likely that the lower part of the Alde was called the Ore because Orford suggested such alteration. The fact remains, that the A.S. *ōra* does not mean a river, but a river-bank or a brink of any kind.

Playford. N.E. of Ipswich, on the river Finn. Spelt *Playford,* Ipm.; H.R.; *Plegeforda,* D.B., p. 68. From the A.S. *plega,* 'play,' with, in poetry, the occasional sense of 'battle.' It may possibly commemorate the scene of a long-forgotten encounter.

Poslingford. Copinger has collected 22 old forms of this

name, of which only 5 end in *ford*; the majority of 17 end in *worth*; and it is certain that, as in other cases, *ford* has been substituted for *worth*, which meant 'a farm' or 'a holding'; see the names under WORTH. Both Duxford and Pampisford, in Cambs., have suffered the same alteration. The old spellings most worth notice are: *Poselingwrth*, H.R., T.N.; *Poselingewrth*, T.N.; *Poslindewrda*, D.B., p. 182; *Poslingewrda*, D.B. 233. The existence of the form *Postlinges* in R.B., and of the present Postling in Kent, suggests that the full form was Postlinga-weorth, i.e. the 'farm (or holding) of the Postlings,' a tribe or family otherwise unknown.

SAMFORD. The name of an old hundred, and still in use. Spelt *Samford*, *Sandford*, H.R.; *Sanforde*, *Sampforde*, R.B.; *Sanfort*, D.B., p. 12. Evidently for 'sand-ford,' or ford with a sandy bottom. Cf. Sandford in Oxfordshire.

STRATFORD. Spelt *Straffort*, D.B., p. 56; *Stratfort*, D.B., p. 243. Like other Stratfords, it means a place where 'a street' or old road is continued beyond a stream. The present road from Marlesford to Farnham crosses the river Alde near Stratford St Andrew. And the road from Colchester to Ipswich crosses the Stour near Stratford St Mary.

THETFORD. Nearly all of this town is in Norfolk, but it is just on the border of the county, and is worth notice. It is situate on the Little Ouse, but a smaller river here joins the other, upon which modern ingenuity has bestowed the name of Thet! Here, as in other cases, the river is named from the town, and not otherwise. For the ingenious people who devised this name evidently did not know that the old name was really Thedford, or more strictly Theedford; for the *e* was once long. Indeed, the spelling *Theedford* occurs in the Liber de Hyda, p. 10. It is spelt *Thēodford* and *Thēotford* in the A.S. Chronicle; the more correct spelling *Thēodford* appearing in the Laud MS., under the dates 870, 1004, and 1010, and in the early Parker MS. under 870. The prefix Thēod means nation, people, race; also, people in general; and in composition it has the sense of general, popular. Hence the

sense is 'popular ford,' or ford in frequent use, on the road from Bury northwards. Isaac Taylor strangely denounces this explanation, but answers his own objection by saying that the German Dietfurt means 'ford of the people.' There is another Thetford in Cambridgeshire which has the misfortune of not possessing any Thet to derive itself from.

Ufford. Spelt *Ufford*, H.R., Ipm., R.B.; *Ufforda*, D.B., p. 89. *Uf-* is short for *Uffan*, as in *Uffan-lege* (dative) in Birch, C.S. ii. 175, last line; and *Uffan* is the gen. of *Uffa*. The sense is 'Uffa's ford.' Uffa is a known name, and distinct from the commoner Offa.

Wangford. In Blything hundred. Yet there was also a Wangford hundred, by confusion of two or three distinct names, as will be shown. And first, as to the place-name. There are really *two* such place-names; for Kelly says there is a Wangford near Southwold, and another near Brandon. This makes *three* Wangfords; and they seem to be all of different origin.

(1) Wangford in Blything hundred; to the N.W. of Southwold. Cf. *Wangford*, H.R.; *Wangeford*, Ipm. Spelt *Wankeforda* in D.B., p. 268, where it is associated with Frostenden. As *nk* occurs in Norman for the A.S. *ng*, the A.S. name must have been Wang-ford, just as it is now. The sense is obvious, when it is remembered that both the A.S. *wang* and the modern prov. E. *wang* (also *wong*) mean a flat field. The sense is 'the ford near the flat field.' "Wangford Green was all open common till 1817"; Raven, Hist. Suffolk, p. 31.

(2) Wangford in Lackford hundred; to the S.W. of Brandon. Probably so called by confusion with the former; but really for Wainford. I find *Wayneford* (Suffolk) in T.N.; and Copinger notes such spellings as *Waynford* and *Wainford*, though these may refer to the hundred. However this may be, I find in D.B., p. 156, a name which I read as *Wainforda*, though in the Victoria County History, at p. 494, it is printed *Wamford*, and explained as Wangford; being certainly in

Blything Hundred. I prefer my own reading, because *Wamford* is nonsense, and we cannot fairly connect such a form with Wangford no. 1 (above). The mistake of writing *m* for *in* is common, if a mistake it be. I also find *Wamford* in R.B., but suspect that also to be wrong, as there certainly was a Wainford *somewhere*, and we have not yet come to the hundred, which had no more claim to be called Wainford than it had to be called Wangford. I assume then that Wainford is here the right form; and the sense is obvious, viz. 'wain-ford,' or a ford through which a wain could pass, as being but shallow. The A.S. form would be *wegn-ford*. There is a Wainfleet in Lincs., and *fleet* means a shallow stream.

(3) Wangford hundred. The original name was neither Wangford nor Wainford, but occurs in D.B. in another form. Thus, at p. 4, it is *Wanneforda*, and so again at pp. 15, 109, 178; but *Waineforda* at pp. 35, 94; and *Wenefort* at p. 39. *Waineforda* and *Wenefort* may have been due to confusion with Wainford; but the prevalent form Wanneford requires an explanation for which neither Wangford (Norman Wankford) nor Wainford will suffice. I am inclined to accept the guess made in Raven's Hist. of Suffolk, at p. 3. He says that the Waveney was also called Wanney (which is likely), and suggests that "Wainford" here means "Wanneford." Of course the suggestion, as so presented, is impossible; no one ever heard of a *wain* being called a *wanney*. But 'Wanney-ford' may very well suggest an origin for the form Wanneford in D.B. As thus presented, the guess seems reasonable.

I therefore interpret the available evidence as showing that Wangford near Southwold was always so called, and meant 'ford near a *wang*'; and it was perhaps the oldest name of the three. Secondly, that Wangford near Brandon was at first called Wainford, or 'ford for a wain.' Thirdly, that Wanneford hundred alluded to a ford across the Waveney, which forms its northern boundary.

Wilford. The name of a hundred. There is no place with this name in Suffolk, though there is one in Notts. Spelt *Wyleford*, *Willeford*, H.R.; *Wileford*, D.B., pp. 76, 186. In the

Crawford Charters, ed. Napier and Stevenson, at p. 33, l. 3, we find: "de wileford"; and the Index says that it means "Wilford, co. Suffolk"; without indicating its exact locality. If we can rely upon the form Wileford, in which nearly all the authorities agree, perhaps we may explain it as 'Wili's ford'; see WILBY. The sense 'willow-ford' is not impossible, but is less likely.

YOXFORD. Spelt *Yokisford*, Ipm.; *Ioxford*, *Iokesford*, H.R.; *Gokesford*, D.B., p. 298; *Iokesford*, D.B., p. 105. The sense is 'Yoke's ford,' where Yoke is used, apparently, as a man's name or nickname. In the A.S. and Northumbrian version of the Gospels, the Lindisfarne MS. (Northumbrian) translates *coniugem* in Matt. i. 20 by *gebede* vel *geoc*, lit. 'bedfellow or yoke'; showing that *geoc* could have the sense of 'spouse.' The river at Yoxford is called the Yox; but the above spellings contradict the antiquity of its name. Some further light comes from comparing it with Yoxall in Staffs., former *Yokes-hale*, where *Yokes* can only be a gen. singular. At any rate, this second example shows that the form Yox is modern; and that the river-name is of no value. Yoxford means 'Yoke's ford'; and it is only the interpretation of Yoke that is doubtful. Another sense of *yoke* is pointed out by Duignan, who refers us to Birch, C.S. i. 584, l. 2, where *xvi gioc londes* means 'sixteen yokes of land,' showing that 'a *yoke* of land' denoted a definite portion of land; whence the use of prov. E. *yoke* to mean 'a small farm.' If a small farm had acquired the local name of *Yoke*, we might explain 'Yoke's ford' as meaning a ford in its immediate neighbourhood, or one used by the farm-servants. This is again one of the cases in which the literal sense is obvious, but the exact interpretation is unattainable, because we cannot tell to what the name refers.

20. GATE.

There are two distinct words of this form, viz. *gate*, a street, from the O. Norse *gata*, a street, road, way, and *gate*, a movable barrier, answering to the A.S. *geat*. The suffix is only found

in Burgate, Lidgate, and Plomesgate, which will be considered together.

Burgate. Spelt *Burgata*, D.B., pp. 276, 277. A.S. *Burhgat*, occurring in the dat. case as *burhgate*; Birch, C.S. i. 8, l. 4 from bottom; variant of *burhgeat*, a borough-gate. Of course the exact reason for the name is lost.

Lidgate. The birthplace of Lydgate the poet. Spelt *Lidgate*, H.R.; *Lydegate*, *Litgate*, Ipm.; *Litgata*, D.B., p. 309. For A.S. *hlidgeat*, explained as 'a swing-gate' in the Dict., but I suspect that it was rather a *clapper-gate*, i.e. an old-fashioned kind of stile, one end of which falls when pressed down, but rises again when the pressure is removed; cf. A.S. *hlid*, a lid of a box. The dat. *hlidgeate* occurs in Birch, A.S. ii. 284; spelt *hlidgate* in the same, p. 164.

Plomesgate. The name of a hundred. Spelt *Plumesgate*, H.R.; *Plumesgata*, D.B., p. 32. The exact origin of the name is necessarily lost. It is remarkable that the A.S. *plūme*, a plum, was feminine, with a genitive in *-an*; but here we have to deal with a masc. sb. **Plūm*, gen. **Plūmes*; whence the sense 'Plūm's gate.' The plum is referred to in the place-names Plumstead, Plumpton, and Plumtree.

21. Grave.

The A.S. *græf*, a grave, also means a ditch, a trench, a cutting or entrenchment. This suffix occurs in Gedgrave, Hargrave, Hengrave, Kesgrave, Palgrave, and Redgrave.

Gedgrave. The parish (says Kelly) is a new one. Gedgrave Hall lies to the S.W. of Orford, and near it are the extensive Gedgrave Marshes. Spelt *Gategrave*, H.R.; *Gatagraua*, D.B., p. 27; *Gategraua*, D.B., p. 93. Copinger also gives the spellings *Gadegrave*, *Gadgrave*, and *Gedgrave*. The original prefix was obviously *Gata-*, as in *Gata-ford*, *Gata-tūn*, *Gata-wīc*; all in Kemble's index. As Gatton is in Surrey, it is unlikely that Gata- is of Norse origin. It would therefore seem to be the

A.S. *gāta*, gen. pl. of *gāt*, a goat. The literal sense is 'burial-place of goats'; though *grave* might merely mean trench, or even enclosure. It is obviously impossible to learn the circumstances of the case.

HARGRAVE. Spelt *Haregrave*, Ipm.; *Haragraua*, D.B., p. 309. The A.S. form is *Haran-grafa*; in Birch, C.S. iii. 492, l. 15. Here *grafa* is a weak sb., closely related to *græf*, a grave, and no doubt had the same sense of trench. *Haran* is the gen. of *hara*, a hare. The sense is 'hare's trench'; or 'Hare's grave,' taking Hare as a man's name. We cannot tell.

HENGRAVE. Spelt *Hemgrave*, Ipm.; *Hemegrave*, H.R.; *Hemegretha*, D.B., p. 154. The last spelling seems to be due to some mistake. The exact form of the prefix is not recorded; but it may have been *Hǣma. The word is not in the dictionaries, but is found as a suffix in some place-names; and it is a derivative of *hām*, a home. Thus Kemble's index has Nīwen-hǣma gemēro, or 'the boundaries of the dwellers in Newnham'; literally, 'the boundaries of the new-homers.' Hence a possible sense is 'grave of the dwellers in the home'; possibly 'a family burial-place.' We cannot ascertain the circumstances.

KESGRAVE. To the E. of Ipswich. Copinger records the early forms *Kessegrave* and *Kekesgrave*, of which the latter must be the older. Prof. Moorman shows that Kexmoor in the W. Riding was originally spelt Ketelsmore, and Kex is the natural contraction of Kekes. The name *Ketel* is Norse, originally spelt *Ketill*; and the occurrence of the hard *K* before the *e* is in itself an indication of Norse origin; since the A.S. *Ce* became *Che*. The name has been much corrupted, probably because the prefix was un-English. The succesive changes must have been from Ketills or Ketels to Ketes; then to Kekes, Kex, and Kes. The original sense was probably 'Ketill's grave.'

PALGRAVE. Spelt *Palegraue*, H.R.; *Palegraua*, D.B., p. 161; *Palegrave* (in the dat. case), in Birch, C.S. iii. 314; in a grant

dated 962. Perhaps from the A.S. *pāl*, a pole, a pale, a stake; a word borrowed from the L. *pālus*. If so, the sense may be 'grave enclosed with palings.'

Redgrave. Spelt *Redgrave*, H.R. When we compare it with Redditch in Worcs., there seems to be no reason why it may not have meant 'red trench,' or a trench cut through red soil.

22. Hale, Hall.

The suffix *hale* is of much importance, as it is in common use in many counties, and frequently appears in disguised spelling, usually assuming the form of *hall*.

It has become *-all* in Aspall, and *-ale* in Kelsale; and has been changed into *-hall* in Benhall, Blaxhall, Buxhall, Ilketshall, Knettishall, Knodishall, Mildenhall, Peasenhall, Rickinghall, Ringshall, Spexhall, Uggeshall, and Westhall. The suffix in Foxhall was originally *-hole*, while that in Lawshall and Stradishall was *-sele*. But all the words that *now* end in *-hall*, *-all*, or *-ale*, will be taken together, for convenience. Not one of them originally ended in *-hall*; whereas fifteen of them once ended in *-hale*.

The O. Merc. *hale*, A.S. *hēale*, only appears in the dative case; the nom. ended in *h*, the O. Merc. form being *halh*, and the A.S. *healh*. *Halh* has given us the modern *haugh*, which is explained in the E.D.D. as meaning 'low-lying, level ground by the side of a river'; while the prov. E. *hale* (from the above dative case) is similarly defined as 'a piece of flat alluvial land by the side of a river.' The old sense of *halh* or *healh* seems to have been a corner, nook, or sheltered place; it seems safe to define it as 'a sheltered spot, beside a river'; perhaps we may call it 'a nook' for the sake of brevity.

Aspall. Spelt *Aspenhalle*, Ipm.; *Espala*, D.B., p. 196; *Aspella*, D.B., p. 275; *Aspala*, D.B., p. 339. Copinger gives many spellings, of which the best are *Aspale*, *Asphale*, *Asphal*. The etymology is evidently from the A.S. *æsp*, an asp-tree or aspen-tree, and *hale*, as explained above. The variant *Aspenhalle*

is valuable, as giving *aspen*, which is really an adjectival form, made by adding *-en* (as in *gold-en*, *wood-en*) to the A.S. *æsp*. The sense is 'aspen-nook.'

Benhall. Spelt *Benhall*, Ipm., p. 161; but *Benhale* earlier, Ipm., p. 121. D.B. has *Benhala*, pp. 57, 128; *Benehala*, pp. 57, 130; *Benenhala*, pp. 56, 130; *Benehalla*, p. 34. The right form, amongst these, is *Benenhala*; where *Benen* represents A.S. *Beonan*, gen. of *Beona*; a personal name occurring in *Beonanfeld*, in Kemble's index. The sense is 'Beona's nook.'

Blaxhall. Spelt *Blakeshal*, H.R.; Ipm.; D.B. has *Blachessala*, pp. 31, 53; with *che* for *ke*, and *s* wrongly repeated; *Blaccheshala*, D.B., p. 53. Copinger also gives *Blacheshala*, *Blakeshale*. The prefix represents A.S. *Blæces*, gen. of *Blæc*, lit. 'black,' used as a personal name, like Black at the present day. The sense is 'Black's nook.'

Buxhall. Spelt *Bukeshale*, R.B., T.N.; *Buckeshale*, T.N.; *Buckeshala*, D.B., p. 139. It appears as *Bucyshealœ*, in the dat. case, in Ælfflæd's Will; in Birch, C.S. iii. 602. *Bucys* is an inferior spelling of *Bucces*, gen. of *Bucc*, lit. 'a buck,' but here used as a man's name. The sense is 'Buck's nook.'

Foxhall. To the E. of Ipswich, and S. of Kesgrave. There is also a Foxhall Hall, which is not tautological, since it stands for Foxhole Hall; as old spellings show. Spelt *Foxehole*, H.R.; *Foxehola*, D.B., p. 212. The form Foxe- shows that the prefix represents the A.S. gen. pl. *foxa*, 'of foxes'; and the whole word represents *foxa holu*, 'holes of foxes,' or 'foxholes,' which has been turned into 'foxhole,' by neglecting the pl. suffix *-u*.

Ilketshall. Spelt *Ilketeleshale*, H.R.; shortened to *Ilketeshale*, Ipm. D.B. has *Ilcheteleshala*, p. 40; shortened to *Ilcheteshala*, pp. 40, 151; with *che* for *ke*. From a Norse name, as the use of *ke* shows. The sense seems to be 'Ilketill's nook.' *Ketill* is very common in Norse names, or in names adapted from them; but I find no compound with the prefix *Il-*. There can hardly be any doubt that Ilketill is a reduced form of the known name Ulfketill; so that the original sense was really

'Ulfketill's nook.' Indeed, it is likely enough that the reference is to a famous Ulfeytel who was alderman of East Anglia, and inflicted a serious defeat upon the Danes in the year 1004; see the A.S. Chronicle. Nevertheless, his name was of Norse origin; Ulfcetel was a very common Norse name, and Björkman (p. 169) gives the shortened form Ulketel, for which D.B. has substituted Ilketel, spelt Ilchetel because D.B. has *che* for *ke* regularly.

Kelsale. Spelt *Keleshulle*, R.B. (wrongly); but *Keleshale*, H.R.; Ipm.; and *Keleshala*, D.B., p. 59. Copinger has many other forms, giving the prefix as *Cheles* (in Norman spelling, with *che* for *ke*), *Kales*, *Kelis*, *Keils*, *Kels* (very rarely with *ll*); so that the vowel was long. Perhaps the prefix was Cēoles, gen. of Cēol, a known name; for though Cēol would normally be palatalised to *Chele*, this process was sometimes arrested by Danish influence, as in the case of Kellington in the West Riding, which is from Cēolinga-tūn; see Prof. Moorman's explanation of this name. The very same thing seems to have occurred again in the case of Kelshall (Herts.), which has the same prefix, though the suffix *-hall* has there been substituted for 'hill'; see my Place-names of Herts., p. 34. Thus the name probably means 'Cēol's nook.'

Knettishall. Also sometimes Knattishall, as in Philips' County Atlas. Kirby calls it Knattishall or Gnattshall. Spelt *Gnateshal*, T.N.; also *Ghenetessala*, D.B., p. 81, with *ss* for *sh*; *Gnedeshalla*, D.B., p. 174; *Gnedassala*, D.B., 336. The use of *a* or *e* in the first syllable, and the spelling with *gn*, suggest that the prefix was associated with the A.S. *gnættes*, gen. of *gnætt* or *gnæt*, a gnat; but it probably represents the Norse name *Knöttr* (gen. *Knattar*), given by Rygh. If so, the sense is 'Knöttr's nook.' The English turned Knattar into Knattes.

Knodishall. Spelt *Knoteshal*, H.R.; *Cnotesheala*, D.B., p. 106; *Chenotessala*, D.B., p. 116 (with *Chen* for *Kn*, and *ss* for *sh*). Also *Knoteshalle*, Ipm. Apparently from a personal name *Cnōt; but I can only find Cnott, with a short vowel, as

in *Cnottis rōde*, in Kemble, vi. 217, l. 10. This would give us the sense of 'Cnott's nook,' or 'Knott's nook.' Prof. Moorman refers Knottingley in the W. Riding to an O. Norse personal name *Knottr*; but the form given by Rygh is *Knöttr* (gen. *Knattar*); as in Knettishall above.

Lawshall. In this case, the evidence shows that the suffix was neither *hall* nor *hale*, but *sele*. This *sele* is the A.S. *sele*, m. (gen. *seles*), also found as *sæl*, n. (gen. *sæles*, *seles*), a habitation, dwelling-place, house. The form in D.B. is *Lawesselam*, p. 196. Copinger gives many other forms (without noting the sources); the chief are *Lausel*, *Lausele*, *Lawcell*, *Lawsele*, *Lawsell*. The word appears to be a compound sb.; and, as *aw* usually corresponds to an A.S. *ag*, it could easily be derived from the A.S. *lagu*, a lake, and *sele*, a dwelling; meaning 'a dwelling-place near a lake.' If this be so, the situation of this dwelling-place would not be near the present Hall, but near the Hall in Chadacre Park, about a mile to the S.W., where a small lake is marked upon the ordnance map, as being an expansion of the Chad Brook. See *lay*, sb. (1), by-form *law*, a lake, a pool, in the N.E.D.

Mildenhall. Spelt *Mildenhal*, H.R.; miswritten *Mitdenehalla*, B.D., p. 16. But fortunately, the true dat. form *Mildenhale* occurs in a charter of Edward the Confessor; see Thorpe, Diplomat., p. 418, l. 13. *Milden* is a late spelling of *Mildan*, gen. of *Milda*, which represents some name beginning with Mild, such as Mildred, which was formerly masculine. The sense is 'Milda's nook.' For the prefix, cf. *Mildan-hald*; Birch, C.S. i. 452.

Peasenhall. Spelt *Pesenhale*, H.R.; Ipm.; *Pesenhala*, D.B., p. 102; *Pisehalla*, D.B., p. 64. The prefix is the A.S. *pisena*, gen. of *pisan*, which is the pl. of *pisa*, a pea. This pl. *pisan* became *pesen* in Mid. Eng., and *peasen* in the sixteenth century. The sense is 'peas-nook'; or a sheltered spot where peas were grown. Or the prefix may represent *pisan-*, combining form of *pisa* when forming a compound.

RICKINGHALL. Spelt *Rykinghale*, Ipm. D.B. has *Rikinchala*, p. 95; *Richingehala*, p. 161; *Rikinghala*, p. 58. From A.S. *Rīcinga*, which occurs in *Rīcinga-ham*, in Kemble's index. *Rīcinga* is the gen. pl. of *Rīcing*, a son of Rīca. The sense is 'nook of the sons (or family) of Rīca.'

RINGSHALL. Spelt *Ringeshale*, Ipm.; *Ringeshal*, T.N.; *Ringeshala*, D.B., p. 249. The prefix is the A.S. *Hringes*, gen. of *Hring* (borrowed from the O. Norse *Hringr*), and the sense is 'Hringr's nook.' See RINGSFIELD.

SPEXHALL. Copinger gives as old spellings such forms as *Speccyshale*, *Spectyshale* (obvious error for *Speccyshale*), *Spetteshale* (error for *Specceshale*), *Speckshall*, &c. The suffix is clearly *hale*. The prefix can only take the form of Specces, gen. of an A.S. *Specc, which is unknown. If it were a name, we should then have 'Speck's nook' as the sense. The E.D.D. says that *Speck* is the Norf. word for a wood-pecker, which would represent an A.S. **specc*, and would be cognate with the G. *Spech-t*. Kluge says that the E. *speight*, a wood-pecker, is borrowed from German, but thinks that the G. *Specht* may be allied to the A.S. *specca*, a speck; with reference to the parti-coloured plumage of the bird. My guess is that the name means 'wood-pecker's nook.' Compare Yaxley, i.e. 'cuckoo's lea.'

STRADISHALL. Here the suffix is not *hale*, but *sele*, a dwelling-place; as in LAWSHALL (above). D.B. has *Stratesella*, p. 233. Copinger gives such forms as *Stradesel*, *Stradesele*, *Stradesyll*; and H.R. has *Stratesele*, *Strattesele*. I suppose the original form to have been the A.S. *strāt-sele*, i.e. 'dwelling near a street' or old road. The A.S. *strāt* is frequently represented by Strat- in Strattons and Stratfords. The medial *-is-* or *-es-* was easily introduced as a fictitious genitive suffix, as it is common in many place-names, and was suggested by the *s* in the suffix *-sele*. About a mile and a half from the present Stradishall church we find a Wickham *Street* marked on the ordnance map, which leads directly to Wickhambrook. The present road from Stradishall to Clare passes through a

place where the map has a Chilton *Street*; and a road joining Wickham Street to Chilton Street would pass through or near Stradishall.

Uggeshall. Spelt *Huggethale*, error for *Uggec(e)hale*, T.N. D.B. has *Uggiceheala*, p. 38; *Wggessala*, p. 337; *Ulkesala*, p. 102. All these are bad spellings, but they lead back to the form *Ugges-hale*, evidently compounded of the suffix *hale* and of *Ugges*, gen. of *Ugg*, not an English name, but adapted from the Dan. Uggi, allied to the Icel. *uggr*, fear, which has given us the adj. *ugly*. The sense is 'Uggi's nook.' (Uggr is one of the names of the god Odin in the Edda.)

Westhall. Spelt *Westhale*, H.R.; R.B. The sense is simply 'west nook.'

23. Ham.

This is an extremely common suffix, and arises from two distinct sources, which cannot in many cases be separated; so that all the names in *-ham* must be considered together. The modern *-ham* represents either (1) A.S. *hām*, a home, or village, or village community, shortened to *hăm* in an unstressed position; or (2) the A.S. *hamm*, also *ham*, meaning an 'enclosure' or 'a place fenced in,' connected with the modern English *to hem in*. In the few cases in which the ultimate origin can be ascertained, the fact will be noted.

This common suffix occurs in the following, viz. Akenham, Aldham, Aldringham, Badingham, Barham, Barnham, Barningham, Barsham, Baylham, Blakenham, Brantham, Brettenham, Bucklesham, Cavenham, Chattisham, Coddenham, Cretingham, Dalham, Darsham, Debenham, Denham, (Santon) Downham, Elmham, Fakenham, Falkenham, Farnham, Felsham, Finningham, Fornham, Framlingham, Freckenham, Gisleham, Gislingham, Glemham, Helmingham, Henham, Heveningham, Higham, Hintlesham, Hitcham, Horham, Icklingham, Ingham, Langham, Lavenham, Layham, Letheringham, Martlesham, Mendham, Mendlesham, Mettingham, Needham Market, Pakenham, Parham, Redisham, Rendham, Rendlesham, Rougham, Saxham,

Saxmundham, Shottisham, Soham, Somersham, Stonham, Syleham, Thelnetham, Thornham, Tuddenham, Walsham, Wattisham, Wenham, Whelnetham, Wickham Market, Wickhambrook, Willingham, Willisham, Witnesham, Worlingham, Wortham, and Wrentham; more than eighty in number.

Akenham. Ill spelt *Acreham*, D.B., p. 17. *Aken* represents the A.S. *Acan*, gen. of *Aca*, a known name. Cf. *Acan-tūn*, in Birch, iii. 603. We may generally take *-ham* to mean 'home' after a personal name in the genitive, unless there is evidence to the contrary. The probable sense is 'Aca's home.'

Aldham. Spelt *Aldham*, Ipm.; *Aldeham*, D.B., p. 14. The *e* in *Alde-* indicates the use of the definite form of the adjective. For O. Merc. *se alda ham*, nom., or *æt thām aldan hāme*, dative. It means 'the old home.'

Aldringham. Spelt *Aldringham*, H.R.; but *Alrincham* in D.B., p. 59. The A.S. personal name *Eallric* occurs in Birch, C.S. ii. 45 as a witness; answering to O. Merc. *Allric*. The gen. suffix *-es* has been lost, as occasionally happens. The sense is 'Allric's home.'

Badingham, or Baddingham. Near Framlingham. Spelt *Badingham*, H.R.; *Badincham*, D.B., p. 96. The name *Bada* occurs in the Liber Vitæ of Durham, and elsewhere. The sense is 'home of the Badings,' or 'of the sons of Bada.' (A.S. *Badinga hām.*) Compare Badley, Badwell.

Barham. Spelt *Bergham*, Ipm., p. 241; *Berham*, D.B., p. 236; *Bercham*, p. 49. The prefix is the O. Merc. *berh*, A.S. *beorh*, a hill, a barrow; and the suffix is, in this case, probably *hamm*, an enclosure. The sense is 'hill-enclosure'; or 'enclosure beside a hill.' There is a small hill near it. (N.B. Barham, Kent, is A.S. *Beoraham.*)

Barnham. Spelt *Bernham*, T.N.; D.B., p. 37. From A.S. *bern*, *berern*, a barn. The sense is 'barn-enclosure'; or 'enclosure with a barn.'

Barningham. Spelt *Berningham*, R.B.; D.B., p. 170; *Bernincham*, D.B., p. 147. For O. Merc. *Berninga hām*, A.S. *Beoringa hām*. The sense is 'home of the Bernings' (A.S. Beornings), or 'of the sons of Bern' (A.S. Beorn).

Barsham. Spelt *Barsham*, T.N.; *Barsham*, D.B., p. 94; *Bersham*, D.B., pp. 109, 110. From the A.S. *Bære*, gen. *Bæres*. The sense is 'Bære's home.' Bære is a known name.

Baylham. Spelt *Beilham*, Ipm.; *Beylham*, Ipm.; *Baylham*, Ipm.; *Beleham*, D.B., p. 112. The diphthong *ei* suggests a Scandinavian origin; and as the Mid. E. *slei*, 'sly,' is from the O. Norse *slœgr* (in Zoega's O. Icel. Dict.), so I suppose *beil-* may be from the O. Icel. *bœli*, a farm, dwelling. The sense may be 'farm-enclosure.'

Blakenham. Spelt *Blakenham*, H.R.; *Blacheham*, D.B., p. 142 (with *che* for *ken*). The corresponding A.S. form is *Blacan-hām*, i.e. 'Blaca's home.' Blaca is a known name.

Brantham. Spelt *Brantham*, Ipm.; D.B., p. 31; *Brantestuna*, D.B., p. 30. Copinger also gives the spelling *Brentham*. It seems to be derived directly from the A.S. *brant*, 'steep'; if so, the sense is 'the steep enclosure,' or 'enclosure near the steep slope.'

Brettenham. Spelt *Bretenham*, H.R.; T.N.; Ipm.; *Bretham*, D.B., p. 22; *Bretenhama*, D.B., p. 177. Not to be connected with the Britons; because the A.S. *Brytt*, a Briton, is a strong sb., with the gen. sing. *Bryttes* and gen. pl. *Brytta* (without *n*). The origin is rather from the A.S. *brettan*, *bryttan*, gen. of *bretta*, *brytta*, mostly in the sense of 'lord,' or 'prince'; though the literal meaning is 'distributor'; cf. Icel. *bryti*, a steward. The probable meaning is 'prince's home.' It is clear that Brettenham suggested the name of Breton (as it is spelt in Kirby, p. 270) for the river that rises near it, though the name is now shortened to Bret, which disguises the connexion.

Bucklesham. Spelt *Bokelesham*, H.R.; *Bukelesham*, D.B., p. 23. These forms suggest an A.S. form *Bucles (or *Buccles) hām, i.e. *Bucel's (or *Buccel's) home; but the forms Bucel,

Buccel are not recorded. They look like a diminutive from the known name Bucca. Compare Buckle Brook, Lancs.

CAVENHAM. "For shortness called Canham"; Kirby (1813). Spelt *Cauenham*, H.R.; Ipm. (printed *Cavenham*); *Kauanaham*, D.B., p. 245, where it is apparently miswritten as *Kanauaham*. The third *a* is superfluous, and may have been due to confusion with *Kauanadis*, which is the misspelling in D.B., at p. 335, of *Kauanedis* (Cavendish). The right form is Cauanham, where *Cauan* is the gen. of *Caua* (in Searle's Onomasticon), which should rather be written as *Cafa*; for *f* is the right symbol for *v* between two vowels. The sense is 'Cafa's home.' See CAVENDISH.

CHATTISHAM. Spelt *Chatisham*, H.R.: *Chatesham*, Ipm.; *Cetessam*, D.B., p. 14. *Chates* represents an A.S. **Ceattes*, gen. of **Ceatt*. This exact form does not occur; but the corresponding weak form *Ceatta* is found in *Ceattan-brōc*; in Kemble's index. The sense is 'Ceatt's home'; or 'Ceat's home.' Compare Chettisham, Cambs.

CODDENHAM. Spelt *Codenham*, Ipm.; D.B., pp. 9, 115. For A.S. *Codan hām*, where *Codan* is the gen. of *Coda*, as in *Codanford*, *Codan-clibe* (Birch, C.S. i. 295). The sense is 'Coda's home.' See COTTON.

CRETINGHAM. Spelt *Creting*, H.R.; *Cretinges*, T.N.; *Gretingaham* (for *Cretingaham*), D.B., pp. 39, 305. It seems safest to refer these forms to the A.S. *Cretta*, as this is a known name. Then *Creting* (H.R.) would represent the gen. pl. *Crettinga*, 'of the sons of Cretta'; *Cretinges* (T.N.) would represent the nom. pl. *Crettingas*; and the place-name will mean 'home of the sons (or family) of Cretta.'

DALHAM. Spelt *Dalham*, H.R.; R.B.; D.B.; p. 219; Dælham, Birch, C.S. iii. 612, last line. From A.S. *dæl*, a dale. The sense is 'dale-enclosure,' or 'enclosure in the dale.' 'Dale-home' is less probable; but quite possible.

DARSHAM. Spelt *Dersham*, Ipm.; H.R.; D.B. p. 4; *Dersam*,

D.B., p. 24; *Diresham*, D.B., p. 108. For A.S. Dēores hām; i.e. 'Dēor's home.' The literal sense of *dēor* is 'deer.'

Debenham. Spelt *Debeham*, H.R.; R.B.; *Depham*, D.B., p. 192; *Depbeham*, on the same page; *Depbenham*, D.B., pp. 49, 50. Also *Depham*, Ipm.; *Debham*, in a late copy of a charter, in Kemble, iv. 245.

The spellings *Depbenham*, *Depbeham* are only variants of *Debbenham*, *Debbeham*, as shown by the D.B. spelling of *Upbestuna* for Ubbeston. The original form was certainly the adj. *dēop*, 'deep,' in the dative case *dēopan*; in the phrase *æt thām dēopan hamme*, 'at the deep enclosure'; or, less probably, *æt thām dēopan hāme*, 'at the deep home.' Under the stress, the *ēo* was shortened, giving Deppenham and Debbenham; Depham and Debham resulted immediately from the nom. *dēop hamm* (or *hām*). There is a Deopham in Norfolk; and the modern Deptford is spelt Depeford in Chaucer; meaning 'deep ford.'

It follows that it is wholly impossible even to imagine that Debenham took its name from the river Deben; on the contrary, the river was named from the place, because it there takes its rise. "The country round this Town is very deep and dirty, but the Town itself is clean, standing on a rising Hill"; Kirby.

Denham. There are two places of this name; one near Bury, and one near Eye (Kelly). Spelt *Denham*, H.R.; T.N.; D.B., p. 59; *Deneham*, Thorpe, Diplomat., p. 403. In the last, the prefix Dene- represents the A.S. *denu*, a valley, rather than *Dena*, 'of the Danes.' The sense may well be 'valley-enclosure,' or 'enclosure in the valley.'

Downham, or Santon Downham, as distinguished from Santon in Norfolk, on the other side of the Little Ouse (Kelly). The soil is of light sand; and Santon means Sand-town. *Dunham*, D.B., pp. 157, 203. There is another Downham in Norfolk, at some distance to the N.W. Downham is probably the A.S. *Dūn-ham* (=*Dūn-hamm*), i.e. 'hill-enclosure.' Kemble and Thorpe mark the *a* in *ham* as long, but without authority;

according to Thorpe, at pp. 383, 422, and 424 of his Diplomatarium, the MS. has '*Dunham*' in each passage; and all the passages occur in quite late charters. Were the *a* long (which I doubt) the sense would be 'hill-home.'

ELMHAM. The South Elmhams are parishes in the Northern division of the county; viz. South E. All Saints, South E. St George, St James, St Margaret, St Michael, and St Peter. Spelt *Elmham*, H.R.; T.N.; *Elmeham*, D.B., p. 94. The sense is 'enclosure (or home) near the elm.'

FAKENHAM. Spelt *Fakeham*, R.B., T.N.; *Fachenham*, D.B., p. 174; *Fakenham*, in a late copy of an A.S. document, in Thorpe, Diplomat., p. 594. The prefix represents an A.S. *Facan, gen. of *Faca; cf. the recorded names Fac-ualdus and Facca. The sense is 'Faca's home' or 'enclosure.'

FALKENHAM. Spelt *Falkeham*, T.N.; *Faltenham*, error for *Falcenham*, D.B., p. 120; cf. Falchenham in Birch, C.S. iii. 659. Nearly the same name as that of Fawkham, Kent, which appears in a Latin charter as *Falcheham*, in Birch, C.S. iii. 375 (l. 6 from bottom); but in a better A.S. charter as *Fealcna-ham*, in the same, iii. 374, l. 5. Here *Fealcna* must be the gen. pl. of *Fealca*, which can only be the L. *falco*, a falcon, done into English spelling; whence also the gen. sing. *Fealcan*. This A.S. form is otherwise unknown, but it may have been in occasional use, as the Lat. pl. *falcones* appears in the Epinal and Corpus Glossaries, both of the eighth century. The sense is 'the enclosure of the falcon'; or 'Falcon's enclosure.' Compare HAWKEDON, above.

FARNHAM. Spelt *Farnham*, D.B., p. 72; *Ferneham*, D.B., p. 128. The A.S. form is Fearnham, in Kemble's index. The sense is, probably, 'fern-enclosure' rather than 'fern-home.'

FELSHAM. Spelt *Felisham*, Ipm.; *Fealsham*, D.B., p. 164. Copinger also notes the form *Falesham*. The prefix answers to the A.S. *Fāles*, which appears in *Fāles-grœfe*, in Birch, iii. 587, l. 3 from bottom (twice). The nom. case is *Fāle*; cf. A.S. *fāle*, adj., faithful, good. The sense is 'Fāle's home.'

FINNINGHAM. Spelt *Feningham*, Ipm.; *Finingaham*, D.B., p. 58. Copinger also gives *Finingham*. The spelling with *en* ought to be significant, as *en* usually becomes *in*; but not conversely; and *fen-ing* might mean a fen-man. The sense is either 'home of the fen-men,' or 'home of the sons of Finn.' But in the latter case we should expect to find *nn* in the old spellings.

FORNHAM. There are three places of this name near together, viz. F. All-Saints, F. St Martin, and F. St Geneviève. Spelt *Fornham*, Ipm.: D.B., p. 162. *Forna* was a somewhat common name, as there are half-a-dozen examples of it; we may conclude that the original form was *Fornanhām*, i.e. 'Forna's home.' The syllable *an* would be very easily lost, owing to the repetition of *n*. Rygh gives *Forni* as a Norse name; whence (says Björkman) the A.S. *Forna* was borrowed.

FRAMLINGHAM. Spelt *Framlingham*, Ipm.; *Framelingham*, H.R.; *Framelingham*, D.B., p. 44; *Framelingaham*, D.B., pp. 90, 297. The last suggests 'home of the Framelings'; but whether that is quite the correct form, we have no further evidence.

FRECKENHAM. Spelt *Frekenham*, H.R.; *Frakenaham*, D.B., p. 201. Also *Frekeham* (twice) in a twelfth century copy of an A.S. charter originally dated 895; in Birch, C.S. ii. 212, 213. We also find *Frecan-thorn* in Birch, C.S. ii. 270. *Frecan* is the gen. of *freca*, a bold man, a warrior. The form in D.B. suggests the gen. pl. *frecena*, as if it were 'home of the warriors'; rather than the gen. sing. *frecan*, which would give 'home of the warrior.' Cf. the patronymic Fræcing; Birch, C.S. i. 474.

GISLEHAM. Spelt *Gisleham*, D.B., pp. 5, 43. The form *Gīslan-ford* occurs in an A.S. charter; Birch, C.S. iii. 588. Here *Gīslan* is the gen. of *Gīsla*; compare the names *Gīslbeald*, *Gīslbeorht*, &c. But *Gīsli* (says Rygh) was a common Norse name, and *Gisle-* well represents its genitive *Gīsla*; moreover the Norse initial *g* remained hard, whilst the A.S. *g* usually became *y* and then disappeared. The sense is 'Gīsli's home.'

GISLINGHAM. Spelt *Gyslyngham*, H.R.; *Gislingaham*, D.B., p. 11; *Gislingheham*, D.B., p. 83. The sense is 'home of the Gīslings,' or 'of the sons of Gīsli.' See the preceding name.

GLEMHAM. Spelt *Glemham*, Ipm.; D.B., p. 245; *Gliemham*, D.B., pp. 33, 129; *Glaimham*, D.B., p. 56. The forms *Gliem-*, *Glaim-*, show that the vowel was formerly long. Perhaps for *Glǣm-hamm; from the A.S. *glæm*, gleam, brightness. This suggests the sense 'gleam-enclosure'; as if it were in a sunny situation. Cf. GLEMSFORD. This solution is, of course, conjectural. The name of the river Glem is probably unoriginal; for otherwise, we should expect the form Glemford. Glemham and Glemsford are a long way apart.

HELMINGHAM. So spelt in Ipm., T.N.; *Helmingheham*, D.B., p. 22. Compare *Helmyngton* in Kemble's index. For A.S. *Helminga-hām*; 'home of the Helmings,' or 'of the sons of Helm.'

HENHAM. Near Wangford. So spelt in H.R., T.N.; also *Heneham*, T.N. Copinger also gives *Heenham*. Spelt *Henham*, D.B., p. 268. The dat. case *Hēan-hammæ* occurs in Birch, C.S., iii. 649. Here *hēan* is the dat. of *hēah*, high; and *hammæ* is the dat. of *hamm*. The sense is 'at the high enclosure.' See HIGHAM.

HEVENINGHAM. To the S.W. of Halesworth. Spelt *Heveningham*, Ipm.; *Heueningham*, H.R.; *Heueniggeham*, D.B., p. 107. The form *Hefan-croft* occurs in Kemble's index; where *Hefan* is the gen. of *Hefa*, a known name. Thus the A.S. form would be *Hefaninga-hām, i.e. 'home of the Hefanings' or 'of the sons of Hefa.'

HIGHAM. Near the Stour, to the W. of E. Bergholt. Spelt *Heham*, Ipm.; *Heyham*, H.R.; *Heiham*, D.B., p. 285. A charter relating to Higham (Kent) is endorsed 'boc to héh-ham' in a hand of the eleventh century; Birch, C.S., i. 301. *Hēh* is the O. Merc. form of A.S. *hēah*, high. The sense is 'high enclosure.' The dat. case occurs in HENHAM.

HINTLESHAM. Spelt *Hyntlesham*, Ipm.; *Hintlesham*, T.N.; D.B., p. 17; and in a late A.S. charter, in Thorpe, Diplomat., p. 569. Also *Hintelesham*, R.B., H.R.; *Hentlesham*, *Huntlesham*, T.N. The variation in the sound of the first vowel, which appears as *y*, *i*, *e*, and *u*, can be accounted for if we assume it to have been originally *y*. Hence the sense is 'home of Hyntel'; where Hyntel is a name not yet recorded. But it is a regular diminutive of A.S. Hunta, which would give *Huntila, *Hyntel.

HITCHAM. Spelt *Hicham*, Ipm.; *Hecham*, H.R.; D.B., p. 208; *Hetcham*, D.B., p. 221. The dat. *Hecan-īge* occurs in an A.S. charter; Kemble, C.D., vi. 221; and the name *Heca* occurs again in the A.S. Chronicle. The A.S. form would be *Hecanhām*, i.e. 'home of Heca.' Copinger records the spelling *Heacham*; so that Heacham (Norf.) is the same name.

HORHAM. Spelt *Horham*, H.R.; *Horam*, D.B., p. 97. The spelling Horham occurs in Bp Theodred's Will; see Thorpe, Diplomat., p. 513. From the A.S. *horu*, mud. The sense is 'mud-enclosure,' or 'muddy enclosure.' The same prefix occurs in Horbury and Horton, in the West Riding of Yorkshire.

ICKLINGHAM. Spelt *Ikelingham*, H.R.; T.N.; *Ecclingaham*, D.B., pp. 16, 271. The prefix is the same as in Ickleton, formerly Icklington, Cambs.; see the A.S. spelling Icelingtūn in Ælfhelm's Will; in Birch, C.S., ii. 630. The sense is 'home of the Iclings' or 'of the sons of Icel.' Icel and Iceling (of which Icling is an abbreviation) both occur in the A.S. Chronicle. The *Iclingas* or Iclings were a Mercian family. See my accounts of Ickleford, Cambs., and Icleford, Herts. Of course none of these names is in any way connected with the Icenhild Way, as the antiquaries so often delight in saying, in contempt of phonetic considerations. Sometimes they invoke the Iceni!

INGHAM. Spelt *Yngeham*, R.B.; *Ingham*, D.B., p. 167; *Incham*, D.B., p. 135. In an Oxfordshire charter, dated 880, there is mention of "Incghǣma gemǣre," or 'boundary of the men of Incghām'; where the occurrence of *æ* shows that the *a* in *ham* was long, and the sense 'home.' Incghām, variant of

Inghām, is a compound word, and the prefix *ing* represents the O. Norse *eng*, a meadow; as in Ingbirchworth in the W. Riding of Yorkshire. The prefix is certainly Norse; we do not find any trace of it in such counties as Beds., Berks., Cambs., Herts., Hunts., which show scarcely any sign of Scandinavian influence. (Inkpen, Berks., means 'Inga's pen,' where Inga is a personal name.) The sense of Ingham is 'meadow-home.' There is another Ingham in Norfolk, and a third in Lincs.

Langham. Four miles N. [by W.] of Elmswell station (Kelly). Spelt *Langeham*, R.B.; *Langham*, D.B., p. 173. I suppose it means 'long enclosure'; from the A.S. *lang*, long.

Lavenham. Spelt *Lauenham*, H.R.; D.B., pp. 149, 275; *Lauanham*, in Thorpe, Diplomat., p. 521, l. 2. Here *Lauan* represents the A.S. *Lafan*, gen. of *Lafa*, a name recorded in the Liber Vitae of Durham. The sense is 'Lafa's home.' Often shortened to Lanham, and actually spelt Lanam by Skelton, in his Why Come ye nat to Courte, l. 930. Dyce wrongly explains it as meaning Langham (Essex).

Layham. To the S. of Hadleigh. Spelt *Leyham*, T.N.; H.R.; Ipm.; *Leiham*, D.B., p. 246. But it is spelt *Hligham* (in connexion with Hadleigh) in Ælfflæd's Will; in Thorpe, Diplomat., p. 526, l. 10. I cannot explain this form *hlīg*, in which the final *g* was, however, a mere glide, except by connecting it with the O. Friesic *hlī*, O. Norse *hlȳ*, warmth, Dan. *ly*, shelter, cover, and the O.N. *hlȳr*, warm, A.S. *hlēow*, shelter, protection; prov. E. *lew*, shelter, and E. *lee*. Cf. A.S. *hlȳwan*, to keep warm; in Napier's Glosses, i. 252. The modern form also presents difficulty; there may have been confusion with the verb *to lay*. See *Lay*, verb, in the E.D.D., sect. 24; where *lay* is given as a sb., meaning 'shelter for wild fowl.' There is a probability that the right sense is 'sheltered enclosure'; with reference to protection from cold.

Letheringham. Spelt *Letheringham*, Ipm.; *Letheringaham*, D.B., p. 216; *Ledringaham*, D.B., p. 135. I think the A.S. form of the prefix must have been *Lēoderinga*, gen. pl. of *Lēodering*, for Lēod(h)er-ing, i.e. son of *Lēod-here*, a known name, formed from two very common elements. If so, the sense

is 'home (or enclosure) of the sons of Lēodhere.' Compare Letheringsett, Norf.

MARTLESHAM. To the S.W. of Woodbridge. Spelt *Marclesham* (with *c* for *t*), Ipm., p. 218; but *Merlesham* (without *t*), D.B., p. 287, which can hardly be right. Copinger also gives the forms *Martelisham, Marthelisham, Martilsham, Mertlesham, Mertlisham*; all from a base *Mart-, Marth-, Mert-*. The only name with a similar base is Mart-ley, Worc.; and the only Teutonic word at all resembling this is the A.S. *mearth*, a marten; O. Norse *mörðr*. A base *Mart- might give a dimin. *Mertila, A.S. *Mertel; whence we might obtain the sense of 'Mertel's home.' But we have no sufficient evidence of this; so that the name remains unsolved.

MENDHAM. On the Waveney; to the S.W. of Bungay. So spelt in T.N.; R.B.; Ipm.; D.B., p. 175; also in a late copy of Bp Theodred's Will, in Thorpe, Diplomat, p. 513; and *Myndham*, on the same page; also *Myndaham*, Birch, iii. 210, l. 17; see below.

MENDLESHAM. Spelt *Mendlesham*, R.B.; *Mendelisham*, Ipm., p. 8. D.B. has the forms *Melnessam*, p. 10; *Munlesham*, p. 11; *Mundlesham*, same page. The variation of the vowel, from *e* to *u*, suggests that the original form had the A.S. *y*, and that the prefix represents an A.S. **Myndel*, formed from an earlier **Mund-il*, due to adding the dimin. suffix *-il* to the A.S. *Mund*. Cf. G. *mündel*, a pupil. Both *Mund* and *Munda* occur as A.S. personal names. If this be right, the original sense was 'Myndel's home' or 'Myndel's enclosure.' And a possible sense of MENDHAM (above) is 'Mynda's home' or 'Mynda's enclosure'; where *Mynda is from a stem **Mund-jon-*, formed, in the usual way, as a weak masculine; from the base *Mund*.

METTINGHAM. E. by N. from Bungay. Spelt *Metingham*, H.R.; R.B.; *Metingaham*, D.B., p. 40. The last form implies 'the home (or enclosure) of the sons of Mǣte'; supposing the A.S. adj. *mǣte* to be used as a proper name. The usual sense of *mǣte* is 'moderate, small, poor,' which would easily become an epithet and give a name. Cf. the form Mǣtelm (for *Mǣthelm) in Birch, C.S., ii. 469, l. 20.

NEEDHAM. Spelt *Nedham*, H.R. Copinger also records the form *Nedeham*. Cf. A.S. *nēod*, *nīed*, need, necessity; used in numerous compounds. The sense is 'a home in need,' a home which one is driven to occupy; a place of refuge.

PAKENHAM. Spelt *Pakenham*, Ipm.; *Pachenham* (with *che* for *ke*), D.B., p. 162. Also *Pakenham*, in a late copy of Bp Theodred's Will; in Thorpe, Diplomat., p. 514. The form implies an A.S. *Pacan, gen. of *Paca; a name not otherwise known; but also required to explain PAKEFIELD. The sense is 'home (or enclosure) of Paca.'

PARHAM. Spelt *Parham*, Ipm., p. 161; *Perreham*, D.B., pp. 9, 27. Copinger gives *Parkham* as a variant, which has the same sense. For *park* (F. *parc*) goes back to a Teut. form **parr-uc* (A.S. *pearr-oc*), where *-uc* is a dimin. suffix; from an older form **parr*, which doubtless meant 'an enclosure.' Cf. prov. E. *par*, an enclosed place for domestic animals; from the verb *parren*, to enclose or bar in. The pp. *parred*, confined, occurs in 1400, and represents an unrecorded A.S. **pearran*, or **parrian*, which I take to be a shortened form of A.S. *sparrian*, to bar in or fasten in with *spars* or bars. Thus Parham properly signifies 'an enclosure made with bars,' or 'a railed-in enclosure.' See *Park* in my Etym. Dict.

REDISHAM. To the S. of Beccles. Spelt *Redesham*, Ipm.; H.R.; D.B., p. 111. *Redes* represents the A.S. *Rēades*, gen. of *Rēad*, lit. 'red.' Though Rēad is not recorded as a personal name, it is very clearly implied in the A.S. *Rēadingas* (now Reading, Berks.), lit. 'sons of Rēad.' Indeed, the forms Read, Reade, Reid (all from A.S. *Rēad*) are still in common use as surnames. The sense is 'Rēad's home,' or 'Rēad's enclosure.'

RENDHAM. To the N.W. of Saxmundham. Spelt *Rendham*, Ipm.; but *Rindham*, D.B., p. 127; *Rindeham*, D.B., p. 128; and *Rimdham* (for *Rindham*?), D.B., p. 54. The A.S. *rinde*, the rind or bark of a tree, is here unsuitable. We should rather compare Rinde-ham with the A.S. *hrinda*, which occurs in the phrase "oth hrindan brōc" in Birch, C.S., ii. 60; where *brōc* means 'brook.' The sense of *hrindan* is not known; if it

is the gen. of Hrinda as a personal name, the sense of Rendham may have been 'Hrinda's home' or 'enclosure.' But this must remain a conjecture. (There is a Norse female name *Rindr*, but the genitive is *Rindar*.)

RENDLESHAM. Spelt *Rendlesham*, Ipm.; D.B., p. 26. But the name is very old, and is explained by Beda, in his Ecclesiastical History, bk iii. ch. 22, where he speaks of "Rendlaesham, id est, mansio Rendili"; so that the sense is 'Rendil's home.' Rendlaes is an old form of Rendles, the regular genitive of Rendil, which drops the *i* when the form is lengthened by a syllable.

ROUGHAM. To the E.S.E. of Bury. Spelt *Rougham*, Ipm.; *Ruhham*, D.B., p. 163. We find *on ruwan hammas*, 'to the rough enclosures,' in Birch, C.S., ii. 492; where *ruwan* is the acc. pl. of the A.S. *ruh*, rough, uncultivated. Hence Ruh-ham here means 'rough or uncultivated enclosure.'

SAXHAM. Spelt *Saxham*, Ipm.; *Saxam*, D.B., p. 9; *Saxham*, D.B., p. 222. The prefix *Sax-* here represents the O. Merc. Saxan, gen. of Saxa (A.S. Seaxa), a personal name. The sense is 'Saxa's home,' or 'Saxa's enclosure.' The O. Norse Saxi is also common in place-names.

SAXMUNDHAM. Spelt *Saxmundeham*, H.R.; *Saxmondeham*, D.B., p. 116. An *s* has been dropped; the original form must have been Saxmundesham, where Saxmundes is the gen. case of Saxmund, an O. Merc. form. Though Saxmund is not in Searle's list, it is perfectly regular; since Sax- is a common prefix, and -mund a common suffix. The sense is 'Saxmund's home' or 'enclosure.'

SHOTTISHAM. To the S.E. of Woodbridge; the same name as Shottesham, Norfolk. Spelt *Shotesham*, Ipm.; *Scotesham*, D.B., p. 75. The same prefix occurs in Scottes-healh, in Birch, C.S., iii. 240, l. 2. Here *Scottes* is the gen. of *Scot*, used as a personal name, and pronounced *Shot* in later A.S., and still in use. Compare SHOTLEY (Suff.), Shottesbrook (Berks.), &c. Whether this Scot is the same as the A.S. Scot, meaning

(1) a Scot of Ireland, and (2) a Scot of Scotland, can hardly be determined.

SOHAM. There is an Earl Soham, so called from the Earls of Norfolk; also a Monk Soham, called Soham Monachorum in Ipm., p. 295; so called because the Monks of Bury were patrons of the Rectory (Kirby). The same name as Soham in Cambs. Spelt *Saham*, Ipm., p. 218; R.B.; H.R.; D.B., p. 26; so that the *o* represents, as usual, an A.S. *ā*. And this Sāham is short for Sāg-ham, as shown by the variant form Sæg-ham, in a charter of the twelfth century; see Earle, Land Charters, p. 368, l. 8. I explain the A.S. *sāg* as meaning 'a depression' or 'hollow'; from *sīgan* (pt. t. *sāg*), to sink down. See my Place-Names of Cambs., p. 23. The sense is (probably) 'enclosure near a hollow.'

SOMERSHAM. Spelt *Somersham*, Ipm.; *Sumersham*, R.B.; D.B., p. 247; *Sumersam*, D.B., p. 113. There is another Somersham in Hunts., which (in my Place-Names of Hunts.) I explain as 'summer's enclosure,' or 'enclosure for the summer.' The A.S. gen. sing. *sumeres* is sometimes thus used adverbially, meaning 'in the summer.'

SOUTH ELMHAM. See ELMHAM (above).

STONHAM. Stonham Aspall is to the N.E. of Needham Market. Near it are Earl Stonham, called Stonham Comitis in Ipm., with reference, says Kirby, to Thomas Brotherton, Earl of Norfolk; and Little Stonham or Stonham Parva, also called Stonham Jerningham, from the family of that name. Stonham Aspall is so named from the family of that name, but the family was named after the place called ASPALL (above). Perhaps it is worth while to note that the surname Jerningham is an example of attempting to give an English look to a French name. As Bardsley points out, the original form was Gernagan; which, with an initial *J* for *G*, became Jernagan. Then the suffix *-agan* was "Englished" by turning it into *-ingham*, which is so common an ending in English place-names. All the same, the initial *J* is quite enough to detect its French origin.

Stonham is spelt *Stanham* in Ipm., R.B., H.R., and in D.B., p. 140. All from the A.S. *stān*, a stone. It meant 'stone enclosure,' with reference either to a wall or to stony soil; we can hardly say which.

Syleham. On the Wavency; N.W. of Wingfield. Spelt *Silham*, H.R.; also in a late copy of Bp Theodred's Will, in Thorpe, Diplomat., p. 513; *Seilam*, D.B., p. 298. Copinger also notes the spelling *Sulham*. The vowels *y*, *i*, *u*, and *e* (wrongly *ei* in D.B.) all point back to an A.S. *y*; and the etymology (like that of Sulhamstead in Berks.) is from the A.S. *sylu*, a miry place. The sense is 'enclosure in (or near) a miry place.'

Thelnetham. On the Little Ouse, to the N.W. of Botesdale. There is some strange mystery about this name and that of Whelnetham. In both cases, there is evidence that the *n* is unoriginal, and has taken the place of a *v*. In the present case, the spellings are: *Telneteham* or *Teluteham*, D.B., p. 21; *Thelueteham*, D.B., p. 94; *Teluetteham*, D.B., p. 148; *Teolftham*, D.B., p. 172. The last of these is very striking; it is impossible that *f* should be miswritten for *n*; it must rather refer to a sound related to *v*. It should also be noticed that there is a Thelveton in Norfolk, and that Copinger notes the spelling *Telvetham*. For further discussion of this difficult name, see under *Whelnetham*.

Thornham. Spelt *Thornham*, H.R., Ipm., R.B.; *Tornham* (with *T* for *Th*), D.B., p. 10; *Thornham*, D.B., pp. 80, 83. Also *Thornham* in an A.S. charter; Kemble, C.D., iv. 110, l. 2. Kemble's index also has *Thornhǣma dīc*, with reference to Worcs.; where the *ǣ* shows that, in some instances, the word was Thornhām, with long *a*. This gives the sense 'Thornhome'; or a dwelling-place near thorn-trees. The sense 'thorn-enclosure' is also admissible, and may here be meant.

Tuddenham. There are two places of this name; Tuddenham St Martin, near Ipswich, and Tuddenham St Mary, near Mildenhall (Kelly). Spelt *Tudenham*, H.R.; T.N.; D.B., p. 25

Tudeham, R.B.; D.B., p. 323. Tuddenham near Mildenhall appears in an A.S. charter, dated 854, as *Tuddan hám*; Birch, C.S., ii. 81; the *a* being marked as long. The sense is 'Tudda's home.' Tudda is a known name.

Walsham, or Walsham-le-Willows. To the E. of Ixworth. N. and S. Walsham are in Norfolk. The A.F. *le* was, no doubt, believed to be the definite article at an early date; but it is clear that it had originally the form *les* (as in French) and was a preposition, meaning 'near'; being derived from the Lat. *latus*, side; whence the sense of 'beside.' We find *Walesham*, R.B., T.N.; *Walsam*, D.B., p. 94. Kemble's index has *Wales-hō*, *Wiales-flēt*, and *Weales-hūð*; so that the most probable original form (as indicated by *Wales-ham* in R.B. and T.N.) was *Weales-hām* (or *-hamm*). *Wēales* is the gen. of *Wealh*, 'a stranger, a foreigner,' usually 'a Briton.' The sense is 'stranger's home,' or 'stranger's enclosure, near the willows.'

Wattisham. Near Bildeston. Spelt *Watesham*, R.B. Copinger also notes the forms *Wathesham*, *Wathisham*, evidently with A.F. *th* for *t*; also *Wachesham*, *Wachisham*, with *th* miswritten as *ch*. All the forms are equivalent, and can be reduced to *Watesham*; and there is no evidence to connect this immediately with the prefix in Wattisfield (above). The form *Wates* requires an A.S. nom. *Wæt*; and though we have no record of this except in Latin, we find the allied weak masc. *Wata*, and the dimin. *Wætel*, as in Watling Street, and in Wattisfield. The sense is 'Wæt's home' or 'Wæt's enclosure.' The Latinised form is Wattus, spelt "Uuattus rex" in Birch, C.S., i. 113.

Wenham. Great Wenham was also known as Brent Wenham, i.e. Burnt Wenham; also called *Wenham Combusta*, Ipm., p. 93. Little Wenham is two miles S.E. of Raydon station (Kelly). Spelt *Wenham*, H.R.; T.N.; D.B., p. 29. We find "terram de Wenintone" in Birch, C.S., iii. 281 (no. 1061). Here Wenin is for Wenan, gen. case of a personal name Wena,

not otherwise known, though the compounds Wenburh and Wenbeorht occur. The sense is 'Wena's home' or 'enclosure.'

Whelnetham. Great and Little Whelnetham lie to the S.E. of Bury. Here, as in the case of Thelnetham, we have evidence that the *n* is unoriginal. In D.B. we find the extraordinary form *Huelfiham*, p. 165. In Ipm., p. 116 (no. 89), we find Parva *Whelnetham*; but at p. 249 (no. 34), the same place is referred to as *Whelwitham*, which looks like the original from which *Huelfiham* was made, by the turning of an E. *w* into a Norman *v* (here written as *f*). It is clear that Thelnetham and Whelnetham must be explained together. I can only guess at this riddle, and the theory I propose is the following, viz. that there were already, before the Conquest, two places in Suffolk named Witham (probably contracted from an earlier Witanham or 'home of Wita'); and that these places (which are little more than 15 miles apart) were distinguished by the prefixes Thel- and Hwēl (= Hwēol). They thus became, respectively, Thelwitham and Whelwitham; or, with *v* for *w*, Thelvithan and Whelvitham; or, in the spelling of D.B., *Teolf(i)tham* and *Huelfi(t)ham*. How the sound of *v* was afterwards exchanged for that of *n* in both cases (showing that they certainly affected each other), it is hard to say; but we have positive evidence that such a change really took place. It remains to explain the prefixes Thel- and Hwel-. *Thel* is the A.S. *thel*, a plank, particularly one used to form a wooden bridge over a stream, as in the case of Theale (Berks.) and of Thelbridge (Devon). *Hwel-* is the A.S *hwēol*, mod. E. *wheel*. The A.S. *hwēol* is also used in the sense of 'circle,' and may denote that this Witham was of circular form. This is the best I can make of this extraordinary pair of names, both of which present very unusual features. I am informed that, not long since, the pronunciation of the latter place was Whelthan, a shortened form which ignored the middle syllable.

Wickham Market. Spelt *Wichâm*, R.B.; D.B., p. 11; *Wycham*, H.R.; *Wiccham*, D.B., p. 10; *Wikham*, p. 26. The A.S. form is *Wīc-hām*; see Kemble, C.D., vi. 98, l. 6. From A.S. *wīc*, a village; and *hām*, a home. The *a* was long, because we

find *Wīc-hāma* in Kemble, v. 243, l. 8. The sense is 'village-home.' But there was also a *Wic-hamm*, or 'village-enclosure'; Birch, C.S., iii. 610.

WICKHAMBROOK. The same as the above; with the addition of *brook*, A.S. *brōc*. There is also a WICKHAM SKEITH, near Finningham; from the family name Skeith, which is obviously of Norse origin. The Icel. *skeith* means a space, a certain length in a course; and Vigfússon notes that it occurs in place-names.

WILLINGHAM. Spelt *Wilingham*, T.N.; *Willingaham*, D.B., pp. 6, 109, which may be the original form. If it be so, the sense is 'home (or enclosure) of the Willings,' or 'of the sons of Willa.' Willa is a known name. But Willingham in Cambs. is differently spelt in D.B., and means 'home of the Wifelings,' or 'of the sons of Wifel.'

WILLISHAM. Spelt *Wylavesham*, Ipm.; *Willauesham*, T.N.; *Wylewesham*, H.R.; *Willaluesham* (error for *Willauesham*), D.B., p. 141. Also *Willauesham* in Lēofgifu's Will (A.D. 1045); in Thorpe, Diplomat., p. 570. All from *Willaues*, representing the A.S. *Wīglāfes*, or *Wīlāfes*, gen. of *Wīglāf* or *Wīlaf*, a well-known name. The *g* is here a mere glide, and the difference in sound between the two forms was very slight in late A.S. The name *Wīglāf* occurs in Beowulf, ll. 2602, 2631, 2745. The sense is 'Wiglāf's home.'

WITNESHAM. Near Ipswich. Spelt *Witnesham*, Ipm., p. 241, col. 1; *Witlesham*, col. 2. But Copinger also gives such forms as *Wittelesham*, *Wyttylisham*, answering to *Wittlesham* in D.B., p. 294; so that the *n* was once *l*. The change is not uncommon. Further, Copinger gives the form *Whitnesham*, with initial *Wh*; and a comparison with Whittlesford (Cambs.) and Whittlesea (Cambs.) tends to confirm this. I would therefore explain it from the name **Hwītel*, the only original form which will explain those names, being itself a derivative from Hwīt, i.e. white. Thus the original sense was, probably, 'Hwītel's home' or 'Hwītel's enclosure.'

Worlingham. Spelt *Werlingham*, H.R.; T.N.; *Warlingaham*, D.B., p. 253; *Werlingaham*, D.B., p. 4. In Birch, C.S., ii. 295, l. 5 from bottom, we find "weræles wellæ," suggesting that there was once a name spelt Weræl, equivalent to Werel, whence a derivative Werling (shortened from Wereling) would easily result. However, it seems safe to explain the above name as meaning 'home (or enclosure) of the Werlings'; which may have meant 'sons of Werel.' The prefixes in Worlingham, Worlington, and Worlingworth are all different.

Wortham. So in T.N.; spelt *Wordham* (with *d* for *th*) in D.B., p. 80; *Wortham*, D.B., pp. 84, 148. Spelt *Wrtham* (for *Wurtham*) in Kemble, C.D., iv. 293. From A.S. *worth*, an enclosed homestead; and (probably) *hamm*, an enclosure; the compound having the sense of 'farm-enclosure.' See Bosworth and Toller's A.S. Dict., p. 1267.

Wrentham. To the N. of Southwold. Spelt *Wrentham*, Ipm.; H.R.; *Wretham* (probably an error for Wrētham = Wrentham), D.B., p. 237. Copinger also gives the form *Wrantham*. Not A.S., but Friesic. Koolman gives the E. Friesic *wranten*, to grumble, and *wrante*, sb., a grumbler. Hexham's Mid. Dutch Dict. has *wranten*, to wrangle, to quarrel, or to chide; and *wrant*, a wrangling, or a quarrelsome man. Outzen gives the N. Fries. *wrante*, to whimper; cf. Dan. *vrante*, to be peevish. From the base *wrant* would be formed an A.S. **wrantian*, **wrentan*, to grumble; and hence **wrenta*, a grumbler, which could be used as a nick-name. Hence Wrentham would mean 'Wrenta's home' or 'Wrenta's enclosure.'

24. Haugh.

The mod. E. *haugh* is from the O. Merc. *halh*, A.S. *healh*, a sheltered place, hence, low-lying land beside a stream; as has already been explained under Hale, which is, grammatically, the dat. case of *haugh*. The sole example is Pettaugh.

Pettaugh. To the S. of Debenham. Spelt *Pethage*, T.N.; *Pethagh*, Ipm.; *Petehaga*, D.B., p. 194; *Pettehaga*, D.B., p. 320. Copinger also notes the forms *Pethaugh* and *Pethale*, which are important as showing that we are here dealing with *haugh* and

hale, not with *haw*, a hedge; though the spelling *Pethawe* occurs also. The forms in D.B. show four syllables, so that the word is not a mere compound with *pet*, 'a pit.' The prefix Pete- represents the A.S. Peotan, gen. of Peota, which occurs in a Worcester charter dated 851, as the name of a witness; see Birch, C.S., ii. 56. I explain Pettaugh as 'Peota's haugh'; or rather (with a simple vowel) as 'Peta's haugh.' And see PETTISTREE.

25. HEATH.

The mod. E. *heath* appears in A.S. as *hāth*. There are three places that end in *-heath* at the present day, but in only one of these, viz. Leavenheath, is the suffix original. The other two are Horningsheath and Lakenheath. But I shall take all three together, for practical convenience.

HORNINGSHEATH. Near Bury. Often called Horringer, and marked as Horningsheath or Horringer on Bacon's map. This remarkable variation is due to the fact that the suffix *-heath* was substituted, at an early date, for another suffix that contained *-er-*, which is even now not quite forgotten. Spelt *Horningesherth*, H.R.; Ipm. Copinger records numerous forms, but in all of them the prefix is equivalent to *Horninges*; whilst the old suffix appears as *herth* (once *harth*), *erth*, *herde*, *herd*, *erda*, *erd*; and (by mistake) as *worda*. D.B. has *Horningesworda*, p. 152, and *Horningeserda*, p. 222, with the usual Norman neglect of initial *h*, and change of *th* to *d*. The suffix represented by the Middle English *herth* (whence the other forms result) is the A.S. *heorth*, mod. E. *hearth*, which was sometimes, though rarely, used to denote 'a dwelling,' or 'house'; see the A.S. Dict. The original sense was 'Horning's hearth,' which was afterwards turned into 'Horning's heath.' Horning means 'son of Horn,' which is a known personal name. The form 'Horningges hæð,' i.e. Horning's heath, occurs in a late copy of Bp Theodred's Will; in Thorpe, Diplomat., p. 514. But this copy abounds in quite late spellings, so that it proves but little.

LAKENHEATH. Spelt *Lakingheth*, H.R.; *Lakinghethe*, H.R.; *Lakenham* (by some mistake), T.N.; *Lakingahethe*, D.B., p. 223;

Lakinghuthe, Ipm., p. 24; *Lakinghith*, Ipm., p. 221. Also *Lacinga-hið*, Birch, C.S., ii. 567; *Lakinghéðe*, Kemble, C.D., iv. 18, l. 7; *Lakynge-hyðe*, Thorpe, Diplomat., p. 308, l. 4. The spellings *huthe, hythe* are absolutely inconsistent with 'heath,' and can only represent the A.S. *hȳth* (dat. *hȳthe*), a hithe, a landing-place. The prefix *Lacinga* is the gen. pl. of *Lacing*, which is not a patronymic (as in the case of Lockinge, Berks., where the form is Lācing, with long *a*), but a derivative from the A.S. *lacu*, a stream; see Earle, Land Charters, p. 465. Lacing meant 'a stream-dweller,' or dweller beside a stream, viz. a southern affluent of the Little Ouse, at a time before the present lodes or drains were made. The sense is 'hithe of the dwellers beside the stream.' Lakenheath had much more water near it in early days than it has now. At a later period, the suffix *hithe* was exchanged for *heath*.

Leavenheath. To the N.W. of Nayland. Copinger gives, without references, the old spellings *Levenesheath, Levenesheth, Leveney*. Here *Levenes* is certainly a late form of *Lēofwines*, gen. of *Lēofwine*, an extremely common name (whence our modern Levin, Lewin, &c.). Kemble has *Lēofwines dene*, Cod. Dipl. iv. 68. The sense is 'Lēofwine's heath.'

26. Hill.

A well-known suffix. The A.S. form was *hylle*, whence the varying Mid. English forms *hille, helle, hulle, hylle*.

There is but one example, viz. Haverhill.

Haverhill. Spelt *Hauerhill*, H.R.; T.N.; *Haverhulle*, Ipm.; *Haverhille*, Ipm.; *Hauerhella*, D.B., p. 185. Not from *haver*, 'oats,' because that word is unknown in English till after 1300; but from A.S. *hæfer*, a he-goat. The sense is 'goat hill.'

27. Hithe.

From the A.S. *hȳð* (gen. and dat. *hȳðe*), a hithe, a landing-place, a haven. The only apparent example is Covehithe; but Lakenheath was once Lakenhithe, as shown above.

Covehithe. Near the coast, to the N. of Southwold. The village is a little way inland. The hithe must have been where Covehithe Broad now appears on the ordnance map. The sense is 'cove-hithe,' or 'cove-landing-place.' See Cove.

According to Copinger, Covehithe is the place sometimes alluded to by the name of North Hales. North refers to its position as regards South Cove, which is not far off. *Hales* is an old word, now obsolete, in use in English from 1330 to 1606, meaning 'tents, booths, huts, or temporary structures'; from the Old French *hale*, mod. F. *halle*, a covered market-place; from the O. High German *halla*, which is cognate with E. *hall*. It occurs in D.B., p. 15, ill spelt as *Northals*, as a solitary example of the use of the O. Fr. *hales*, long before its general introduction into English.

28. Hoe, or Hoo.

The A.S. *hōh* signifies 'the heel,' and is the parent of the modern E. *hough* and *hock*; but it is also common in place-names, with the sense of 'spur of a hill' or 'projection on a hill-side.' With loss of the final *h*, and change of the A.S. *ō* into *oo* (as in A.S. *cōl*, mod. E. *cool*), it has become Hoo. Sometimes it appears as Hoe or Ho, which preserves an older pronunciation. It appears in the name Hoo: and as a suffix in Culpho, Dallinghoo, and Wixoe. The suffix in Thingoe is different.

Hoo. To the S.W. of Framlingham. Spelt *Hoe*, T.N.; *Hou*, R.B.; D.B., p. 74; *Hov* (for *Hou*), D.B., p. 215. The spellings Ho, *Hogh*, *Hohg*, occur in Kemble's index, with reference to Hoo in Kent; and Hohg, with reference to Hoo, Suff. From the A.S. *hōh*, 'spur of a hill,' as said above. The hill-spur, above the river Deben, is clearly shown in the ordnance map by the contour-line marked 100.

Culpho. To the N.E. of Ipswich. Spelt *Culpho*, H.R.; T.N.; *Culphowe*, R.B. Also *Culfho*, H.R.; R.B.; *Culfo*, T.N.; *Quilfo*, T.N. D.B. has *Culfole*, *Culfola*, p. 131; where perhaps the addition means 'lea.' The suffix is plainly the A.S. *hōh*,

'spur of a hill'; it is on high ground. The original prefix seems to have been *Culf*; and *Culfo* (for *Culf-hō*) was respelt, with a Norman *ph* for *f*. *Cuulf* is noticed by Searle as occurring in Ellis's lists of land-owners and tenants in D.B., so that it is a late form, and a manifest contraction for the very common name *Cūthwulf*, also *Cūthulf*, in which the *th* would readily disappear. The gen. *-es* is also lost, as is not uncommon in early names. There can hardly be a doubt that the name meant 'Cūthwulf's hōh,' or a hill-spur named after a Cūthwulf.

Dallinghoo. Between Ipswich and Framlingham. Spelt *Dallingahou*, D.B., p. 27; *Dalingahou*, D.B., p. 90; *Dalingeho*, in the Crawford Charters, ed. Napier and Stevenson, p. 33, l. 2. For A.S. *Dalinga hōh*, 'hill-spur of the Dalings.' I understand Dalings to mean dal-ings, or dalemen, or 'dwellers in a dale'; just as Centingas means Kent-ings, or men of Kent. We may suppose them to have moved uphill out of a valley.

Thingoe. Not the name of an existing village, but of a hundred; a fact which suits the name. Spelt *Thinghowe*, H.R. D.B. has *Thingehov*, p. 221; *Tinchou*, p. 18; and *Thingohov*, p. 202 (with needless repetition). Also *Thinghowe*; in Thorpe, Diplomat., p. 418.

The suffix has evidently been assimilated to that in Culpho, Dallinghoo, and Wixoe. But the spelling *howe* (in H.R. and Thorpe) suggests that it was once the prov. E. *how*, *howe*, a small detached hill or mound, from the Icel. *haugr*, a mound. The prefix Thing, from the A.S. *thing*, O. Norse *thing*, meant 'an assembly, a meeting for consultation or deliberation,' a meeting of the men of the hundred; so that the sense is 'meeting-mound.' In Gage's Suffolk, p. x, it is said that the Thing-how was an 'aceruus' or artificial mound just outside the North gate of Bury.

Wixoe, or Whixoe. On the Stour, to the S.E. of Haverhill. Spelt Wixoe in Bacon's map, but Whixoe in his index. Spelt *Witeskeou* (!), D.B., p. 267; *Wydekesho*, H.R.; T.N. The prefix answers to the A.S. *Hwittuces*, which occurs in *Hwittuces hlæwe*; in Birch, C.S., iii. 70, l. 11. *Hwittuc* is a

diminutive from *Hwīta*, lit. 'white one,' from *hwīt*, white. The sense is 'Hwittuc's hill-spur.' The shape of the hill can be traced on the ordnance map by help of the contour-line marked 200.

29. Holt.

The A.S. and mod. E. *holt* means a small wood or copse. It occurs in Bergholt, Occold, Ramsholt, and Southolt.

East Bergholt. Near the mouth of the Stour. Spelt *Berkholt*, H.R.; *Bergholte*, Ipm.; *Bercolt*, T.N.: D.B., p. 13. Copinger gives five other forms beginning with *Berc-* or *Berk-*; and one example of *Bircholt*. The prefix is certainly the O. Merc. *berc*, A.S. *beorc*, a birch; and the sense is 'birch-copse.' The modern form is not a happy one.

Occold. Near Eye. Formerly Occolt, which is a better spelling. Spelt *Acolt*, D.B., p. 10; for *Acholt*. Spelt *Acholt*, in Kemble, C.D., iv. 245; for A.S. *āc-holt*; from *āc*, an oak. The sense is 'oak-copse.'

Ramsholt. S.S.E. of Woodbridge. Spelt *Ramisholt*, Ipm.; *Rammesholt*, D.B., p. 76. Apparently 'Ram's holt': Ram or Ramm might be a personal name. More probably, as in Ramsey, it stands for the A.S. *hræm*, variant of *hrafn*, a raven; and the sense was 'Raven's holt.' Raven could also be a personal name.

Southolt. The sense is 'south copse.'

30. Hurst.

A *hurst* means 'a wooded eminence,' or 'a small wood.' It occurs, much disguised, in Hartest. The A.S. form is *hyrst*.

Hartest. N.N.W. of Long Melford. Spelt *Hertherste*, Ipm.; *Hertherst*, T.N.; *Herterst*, D.B., p. 224; ill spelt *Hertest*, D.B., p. 203; and in a late copy of a charter, in Kemble, C.D., iv. 245. Also *Harthurst*, *Herthurst* (Copinger). The sense is 'harthurst.'

31. -ING.

In the case of Ingham, the prefix is Norse, and means 'a meadow'; but there is no other example of it in Suffolk. As a suffix, it occurs, in this county, only as a patronymic, or with the signification of 'dweller in' or 'dweller near'; for which see BLYTHING. In the plural, it refers to a tribe or family. It occurs in Ash Bocking, Barking, Bealings, Blything, Cowlinge, Creeting, Exning, Gedding, Gipping, Milden, Nedging, Shimpling, Sweffling, Thredling, Wratting.

ASHBOCKING or ASH BOCKING. E. of Needham Market. The prefix Ash merely means 'ash-tree'; but the place was often called Ash simply, in olden times; and D.B. has *Essa*, p. 9; which is a Latinised form of *Esse*; and *Esse* is the Norman spelling of A.S. *æsce*, dat. of *æsc*, an ash. It was afterwards called Ash Bocking, because it was in the possession of the Bocking family for some centuries (Kelly). This family had its name from Bocking in Essex; called 'æt Boccinge,' in Thorpe, Diplomat., p. 539. And *Boccing* here meant, originally, 'a son of Bocc.' *Bocc* occurs in *Bocches-hale* (for *Bocceshale*), in Thorpe, Diplomat., p. 583, note 3.

BARKING. The same as Barking in Essex; which is spelt *Berking* in Ipm., p. 100. The Suffolk Barking was also formerly *Berking* (Copinger). Spelt *Berchingas*, nom. pl., in D.B., p. 204; *Beorcingan*, dat. pl. (for *Beorcingum*), in Birch, C.D., iii. 602. As the A.S. *beorc* means 'birch-tree,' and does not appear as a proper name, we may explain Beorcingas, nom. pl., to mean 'dwellers beside a birch-tree or birch-grove.' . Note that Berking is from the O. Merc. form *berc* rather than the A.S. *beorc*.

BEALINGS. Great Bealings and Little Bealings are near Woodbridge. Spelt *Beling*, T.N.; *Belinges*, H.R.; D.B., p. 70; *Belings*, Ipm. The name *Beola* is noted by Searle as being that of a moneyer, in the time of Cnut, but I suspect that the name was Norse; from Bele or Beli, a name which occurs several times in the Edda. In any case, we may explain Belinges (for A.S. *Belingas or *Beolingas) as a tribal name.

Blything. The name of a hundred. Spelt *Blidinga* (with *d* for ð), D.B., p. 3. Blything is a hundred on the E. coast, containing Southwold and Dunwich, and the river Blythe flows through the midst of it. The river-name (meaning 'blithe' or 'pleasant') is an old one, and another river of the same name is mentioned in a Northants. charter, dated 944; see Earle, Land Charters, p. 179, l. 3. I understand *Blithinga*, gen. pl., to be the gen. of *Blithingas*, or 'the dwellers beside the Blythe.'

Cowlinge. N.N.E. of Haverhill. Spelt *Culing*, H.R.: *Culinges*, T.N., Ipm.; *Cvlinge*, D.B., p. 24. It evidently represents an A.S. *Cūlinga*, gen. pl. (as in Culinga gemære, Birch, C.S., i. 318); and '*Cūles feld*' occurs in a Hants. charter, dated 909, in Birch, C.S., ii. 284. Hence the Cūlingas were 'the sons of Cūl.' It seems to be not quite the same name as Cowling in the W. Riding of Yks., which refers to 'the sons of Coll'; as Prof. Moorman shows. The form *Culinges* in T.N. represents the nom. pl. Cūlingas.

Creeting. West Creeting and Creeting St Mary lie to the N. of Needham Market. Spelt *Cretinges*, T.N.; *Creting*, H.R.; *Cretinge*, R.B., Ipm. But D.B. has *Cratingas*, p. 22; *Cratinga*, p. 47; *in Cratingis*, p. 48. Probably from the A.S. *Cretta*, a name of which two instances are known. Creeting may represent a gen. pl. *Crettinga*; and the nom. *Crettingas* means 'the sons of Cretta,' or 'the family of Cretta.'

Exning. To the N.W. of Newmarket. The spelling *Ixning* is commoner, at an early date; and the place was once considered to be in Cambridgeshire, as its position suggests. Spelt *Ixninge*, *Ixnynge*, and even *Ixningham*, Ipm.; *Ixninges*, R.B.; *Yxninge*, R.B.; *Ixning* and *Exning*, H.R.; *Ixning*, *Yxning*, T.N. No doubt the prefix is related to that of Ixworth, which is also in Suffolk; and the latter is known. Ixworth appears in a very late charter (no. 1019) as Ixeworthe; and in another (no. 1018) as Gyxeweorde (with *d* for ð); both in Birch, iii. 219. But *Gyxe-* stands for *Gixe-*, with *i*, not *y*; because before *y* a *G* remains hard, whilst before *i* it disappears. And *Gixe* is a very late form of the true gen. *Gixan*, from a nom. *Gixa*. It is now

clear that Ixning was a later form of Gixan-ing, or rather of the gen. pl. *Gixaninga*; which meant 'of or belonging to the Gixanings' or 'of the sons (or family) of Gixa.' Note particularly the spelling *Ixenyng* in Ipm. (Index Nominum). The longer form Ixningham is quite legitimate; it means 'home (or enclosure) of the Gixanings.' Gixa = Gisca; see IXWORTH.

GEDDING. Spelt *Geddinge, Geddinges,* R.B. But also known as Gidding, in which form it appears in Pigot's Atlas, 1831. Spelt *Gedinga*, D.B., p. 235; *Geldinga* (error for *Geddinga*), D.B., p. 165. In Thorpe, Diplomat., p. 526, Giddincg-forda (dat.) is mentioned in connexion with Kersey and Hadley, and must refer to Gedding. Note that in Ipm., p. 48, *Geddinge* refers to Gedding (Suff.); whilst in the same, p. 25, *Gedding* refers to Gidding (Hunts.). The phonology is not difficult. Both these places really had once the same name, and this name must have begun with an A.S. *Gy,* as otherwise the *G* would not have remained hard. This *Gy* is often spelt *Gi* in later times, and it often appears as *Ge* (with hard *g*) dialectically. It is therefore certain that Gedding once referred to a settlement of 'the sons of Gydda.' The personal name Gydda occurs in Gyddan-den; in Kemble, C.D., v. 289.

GIPPING. About 2½ miles E. by N. from Haughley railway station; a small hamlet. I find no old spelling, but Copinger records *Gipping, Gypping, Gippyngge,* and *Gyppinges*; all undated. There is also a river Gipping, and I have seen it suggested that Ipswich (formerly Gippes wīc) took its name from the river! But I presume that the *G* in Gipping is hard, and therefore wholly unconnected with the A.S. *Gippes,* in which the *G* was sounded like the *y* in *yield.* The map shows that the river Gipping, before it joins another stream above Stowmarket, comes down from the direction of Gipping, and whilst still small, flows past the end of Gipping Great Wood. It is therefore fairly certain that the river took its name from the place, and not otherwise; just as the Deben comes from the neighbourhood of Debenham. I suppose that the oldest spelling was Gypping, and that it represents a tribal name, from a personal name Gypp or Gyppa; but of such names

no trace seems to exist, unless we can compare Geppa (twice) in Searle's list.

Milden. Called Milding by Kirby (1764). S.W. of Bildeston. This must be included among the names in *-ing*, on account of the older forms. Spelt *Meldinge*, Ipm., p. 198; *Mellinga*, D.B., 159; *Mildinges*, F.A., v. 43. I find no other old spelling; but Copinger recites some seventeen, of which all but two end in *-ing*, *-ingg*, *-inge*, *-ingge*, or *-yng*, *-yngg*, *-inga*. Eleven of them begin with *Me-*; so that the oldest type seems to be Meldinga, which we may associate with the personal name Melda, whence are derived the names Meldreth and Melbourn, both in Cambs. The gen. pl. *Meldinga* refers to a settlement of 'the sons (or family) of Melda.'

Nedging. Near Bildeston. Spelt *Nedding*, H.R.; *Neddinge*, R.B.; so that the sound of *dg* is unoriginal. D.B. has *Niedinga*, p. 209. In a Suffolk charter relating particularly to Cockfield, in Birch, C.S., iii. 603, l. 3, we find "*æt (H)nyddinge*," which Kemble and Thorpe explain as Nedging, with obvious correctness. This furnishes another instance in which the A.S. *y* is locally rendered by *e*. The initial *H* is printed by Birch between two marks, to show that it has been supplied afterwards. We also find *Neddinge* in a late copy of a charter in Kemble, C.D., iv. 245; it is of no great value. The evidence shows that the name refers to a settlement of Hnyddings or of Nyddings; but there is nothing to help us any further. In the form Neddinge, the final *-ge* must have been palatalised, or sounded as *j*, giving Neddinj; after which the *j*-sound was passed back into the former syllable, and so it became Nedjing, or Nedging.

Shimpling. To the W. of Lavenham. There is another Shimpling in Norfolk. Kelly says it is also known as Shimplingthorne; where 'thorne' is the mod. E. 'thorn.' Spelt *Simpling*, T.N.; *Shimpling*, Ipm.; *Simplinga*, D.B., p. 270 (with Norman *S* for A.S. *Sc*); *Scimpling*, H.R. The A.S. form must have been *Scimplinga*, or settlement 'of the Scimplings,' mod. E. Shimplings; i.e. 'of the sons of Scimpel,' mod. E. Shimpel;

a name not recorded. But it probably meant 'jester'; cf. mod. Du. *schimpen*, to scoff at.

Sweffling or Swefling. Near Saxmundham. Spelt *Swiflinge*, Ipm.; *Sueflinga*, D.B., p. 35; *Sueftlinga*, D.B., p. 34. A.S. *Sueftlinges*; in the Crawford Charters, ed. Napier and Stevenson, p. 33, l. 2. The name records a settlement 'of Sweftlings,' or 'of the sons of *Swefte l'; a name not otherwise known. Probably it was once *Swæftel; and it may be allied to E. *swift*. Kemble's index has Swiftan-beorh.

Thredling. The name of a hundred. Spelt *Tredelinge*, Ipm. (with *T* for *Th*). I find no other old form; Copinger gives *Thrydelingge, Thridelingge*. There is no further clue. The *e* (*i*, *y*) may have been due to an A.S. *y*, as in other cases. It appears to refer to a settlement of *Thrydelings; but no such form appears. Possibly for *Thrȳthhildings; since Thrȳthhild is a known female name.

Wratting. Spelt *Wratting* in T.N.; *Wrotinge*, R.B.; *Wratinga*, D.B., p. 220. The same name as Wratting in Cambs., which appears as A.S. *Wrættincge* in the dat. case, in Ælfhelm's Will; see Birch, C.S., iii. 629; also *Wrættinge*, on the preceding page. The reference is to a tribe of Wrættings or to a man named Wrætting. A man may have been so named from a wart upon his face; since *wret* was the E. Anglian form of *wart* in the fifteenth century (Prompt. Parv.). Cf. Du. *wrat*, a wart.

32. Land.

Land is well known in mod. E., A.S., and Old Norse. It means tract of country, region, &c. It occurs in Kessingland, Lothingland, Nayland, Shelland, and Swilland.

Kessingland. On the E. coast; S. of Lowestoft. Spelt *Kessinglond*, H.R.; Ipm.; *Kessingland*, T.N.; *Kessingelanda*, D.B., p. 5. But the A.S. form could not have begun with *Ce*, or the *C* would have become *Ch*; and we find, in fact, the alternative spelling Cassingland. It is twice spelt *Cassingland* in Ipm., p. 55; and Copinger quotes six examples in which the

name begins with Cass-. It therefore probably has the same prefix as *Kasing-burna*; in Birch, i. 477. Cf. *Casincg-stræt* and *Casan-thorn* in Kemble's index. The sense is therefore, in all probability, 'land of the Casings' or 'of the sons of Casa.'

Lothingland. The name of a hundred. This hundred contains Lowestoft and Lake Lothing or Lothing Lake, from which the hundred took its name. The *o* was short, and must be the *o* which the Normans frequently substituted for short *u*; cf. the spellings *Luddingland*, Ipm.; *Ludingland*, H.R.; *Luthingland*, H.R.; *Ludingaland*, D.B., p. 329. We also find *Luðinglond* in a late copy of Bp Theodred's Will; in Thorpe, Diplomat., p. 513. The full form was Luthinga-land, or 'land of the Luthings'; but we have no further information as to this tribe or family. The name may perhaps be connected with the personal name *Luda*, which occurs in *Ludan-beorh*; in Birch, C.S. iii. 204.

Nayland. This is a very interesting name, as it is an example of a spelling in which a *n* has been prefixed. It is spelt *Eyland*, *Eylaund*, T.N.; but *Neyland* in Ipm., p. 16 (A.D. 1257); *Neylond*, H.R.; *Eilanda*, D.B., p. 242; rather from the O. Norse *eyland*, an island, than from the A.S. *īeg-land*, *īg-land*, with the same sense. The situation of Nayland is low, and it is "subject to occasional inundations"; see The Beauties of England, xiv. 158. Its river is the Stour. We can easily explain how the *n* was prefixed. It arose from the fact that there are two places in S.W. Suffolk called Stoke; one was called Stoke-juxta-Clare, or Stoke near Clare, and the other Stoke near Eyland, described in 1327 (in the Index to the Charters) as Stoke-atte-Neilond, of which an older form must necessarily have been Stoke-atten-Eilond; as the Mid. Eng. *atten* represents the A.S. *æt thām*, i.e. 'at the.' The date when the *n* was prefixed seems to have been somewhat earlier than A.D. 1250. Observe that the name is Norse.

Shelland. To the W.N.W. of Stowmarket. Spelt *Shellaund*, *Shellonde*, Ipm.; *Sellanda*, D.B., p. 224 (with Norman *S* for A.S. *Sc*). I think the prefix was not the A.S. *scell*, 'a

shell,' but *scelf*, 'a shelf'; note Shelton, Beds., of which the A.S. form was Scelf-tūn, and Shelley, Suff. (below), of which the A.S. form was Scelf-lēah, affording good reason for the change from *fl* to *ll*. The sense is 'shelf-land,' which is precisely the right sense. A *shelf* is a high terrace of land or ledge; and Shelland Green is more than 200 feet above the sea-level. Cf. Shelfhanger, Norf.; Shelve, Salop.

Swilland. N. of Ipswich. Spelt *Swynlaund*, Ipm.; *Swinelonde*, R.B.; *Suinlanda*, D.B., p. 291. From A.S. *swīn*, swine; literally 'swine-land.'

33. Ley.

Ley is a common suffix in many counties and represents the A.S. *lēah*, a lea, a meadow; the sense is rather vague. It occurs in Badley, Bentley, Bradley, Brockley, Butley, Cookley, Eleigh, Gazeley, Hadleigh, Haughley, Hemley, Henley, Hollesley, Kirkley, Oakley, Otley, Shelley, Shotley, Sotterley, Trimley, Westley, and Yaxley; twenty-two examples.

Badley. Near Needham Market; westward. Spelt *Badele*, T.N.; *Badell'*, Ipm.; *Badelea*, D.B., p. 9. For A.S. *Badanlēah*; cf. *Badan-pyt* (Kemble); *Badan-dene* (Birch, C.S. i. 304). The sense is 'Bada's lea.'

Bentley. Spelt *Benetley*, T.N.; *Benetleye*, H.R., *Benetleia*, D.B., p. 13. The A.S. form is *Beonetlēah* (Kemble). The A.S. *beonet*, prov. E. *bennet*, means 'long coarse grass,' or 'bent-grass.' The sense is 'bentgrass lea.' See *Bent* in my Etym. Dict.

Bradley. A common name. Spelt *Bradeley*, H.R.; *Bradeleye*, *Bradelegh*, Ipm.; *Bradeleia*, D.B., p. 182. For A.S. *brādan lēage*; in Birch, C.S. iii. 29, which is a weak dative case. From A.S. *brād*, broad; and *lēah*. The sense is 'at the broad lea,' or simply 'broad lea.'

Brockley. Spelt *Brokley*, *Brockele*, Ipm., p. 270; *Brokle*, D.B., p. 138; *Broclega*, D.B., p. 155. Cf. A.S. *Broc lēa ford*; Birch, C.S. iii. 288, l. 7 from bottom. Either from A.S. *broc*, a badger; or from *brōc*, a brook; the long *o* in the latter case would be shortened before *cl*. There is nothing to discriminate

between the senses of 'badger lea' and 'brook lea.' Pateley, in Yorks., means 'badger lea,' because the Yorks. *pate* means a badger. This favours the former explanation.

Butley. Hence was named the Butley river, which joins the Ore, and flows into the sea near Hollesley. Spelt *Buttele*, T.N., *Butelai*, D.B., p. 27; *Butelea*, D.B., p. 94. The patronymic *Butting* occurs in *Buttingc-graf*; Birch, C.S. i. 307, last line. The name *Butti* (also *Botti*) is Norse (Rygh). The sense is 'Butti's lea.' The gen. of *Butti* was *Butta*, which would give the *Butte-* in T.N., and the *Bute-* in D.B.

Cookley. Near Halesworth. Spelt *Cokeleye*, H.R.; *Cokelei*, D.B., p. 106; *Cukeleye*, Ipm. The prefix seems to be the A.S. *Cucan*, gen. of *Cuca*; a name which appears in *Cucanhealas* (Birch, C.S. iii. 113) and in *Cucandūn* (Birch, C.S. iii. 140). Thus the sense is 'Cuca's lea.' Prof. Moorman explains Cookridge, in the West Riding, in the same way.

Eleigh. There is Monks' Eleigh (for which Copinger quotes Illea Monachorum), and Brent Eleigh (for which he quotes Illea Combusta, and Illegh Ars, where *ars* is Norman for 'burnt'). Spelt *Illea Ars*, H.R.; *Illeya*, H.R.; *Illeleia*, D.B., p. 185. The A.S. form is *Illan-lēah*, of which the dat. case *Illan-lēge* occurs in Birch, C.S. iii. 602. The sense is 'Illa's lea.' But Ilsley (Berks.) has lost initial *H*, and stands for 'Hild's lea.'

Gazeley. Otherwise Gaiesley; as in Kirby. E. of Newmarket. Spelt *Gasele*, *Gaisle*, *Gaysle*, H.R.; *Gaysley*, Ipm.; Geisley, Ipm. The A.S. form would be *Gæges-lēah. The name *Gæg is not found, but can be inferred from the patronymic *Gæging*, in Birch, C.S. iii. 257; whence, as I have shown, is derived the name of Ginge, in Berks. The weak form *Gæga appears as Gega in *Geganden* (Kemble), and as Gage in *Gagelēah* (also *Gagenlēah*), also in Kemble's Index; also in Gaydon, Gayton and Gaywood in modern names. The sense is 'Gæg's lea,' or in later spelling 'Gay's lea.'

Hadleigh. Spelt *Hadlega*, R.B.; *Hadleigh*, Ipm.; *Hædleage*, in a late charter, Thorpe, Diplomat. 527; *Headlega*,

Annals of St Neot, quoted in Plummer's ed. of the A.S. Chronicle, ii. 102; *Hetlega*, D.B., p. 184. In D.B. the *t* stands for *th*; and the true A.S. form appears in a Worcs. charter, dated 849, as *hæðleage* (gen.) with reference to Headley Heath (a tautological name) in Birch, C.S. ii. 40; see Duignan, Place-names of Worcs. The sense is 'heath-lea.' In a similar way the A.S. ð has become *t* in Hatfield (Herts.) which means 'heath-field.'

Haughley. Spelt *Haweleye*, Ipm.; *Hagala*, D.B., p. 256. The A.S. form is *Hagan-lēah*, in a Worc. charter; in Birch, iii. 587, l. 11 from bottom. The sense is 'haw-lea,' or 'enclosed lea.' The old spellings clearly connect the prefix with *haw* rather than the mod. E. *haugh*, O. Merc. *halh*, A.S. *healh*. Copinger gives many old forms, of which the most intelligible are Haghele, Haghle, Haghlegh, Halley, Haugle, Haule, Hawele, Hawelee, Hawelege, Hawleigh.

Helmley. Near Waldringfield; misprinted Henley in Bacon's map, though given as Hemley in the Index. (Henley is due N. of Ipswich.) Hemley is short for Helmley. Spelt *Halmeleia*, D.B., p. 138; *Halmelega*, p. 287; but *Helmelea*, p. 120. The A.S. form should be *Helman-lēah*; compare *Helman-hyrst* in Kemble's index, p. 297, col. 2. The sense is 'Helma's lea.' Helma is a pet name for a name beginning with Helm-, such as Helmbeald, Helmbeorht, &c.; which are numerous.

Henley. N. of Ipswich. Spelt *Henleye*, T.N.; *Hanle*, H.R.; *Henleia*, D.B., p. 50. There are several places of this name, answering to A.S. *Hēanlēage*; in Birch, C.S. iii. 519; of which a later spelling is *Hēnlēa*; in Birch, C.S. i. 64. This *Hēanlēage* is the dat. case of *Hēahlēah*, meaning 'high lea.'

Hollesley. Near the mouth of the river Alde. Spelt *Holesle*, H.R.; *Holeslee*, Ipm.; *Holeslegh*, Ipm.; *Holeslea*, D.B., p. 73. Lit. 'Hol's lea.' The name Hol does not appear by itself, but it occurs in the derivative Hol-ing, or 'son of Hol,' in the A.S. *Holinga burnan*; Kemble, C.D. iv. 232; and in the modern names Hollingbourn, Hollington, and Hollingworth.

KIRKLEY; forming part of Lowestoft. Spelt *Kyrkele*, H.R.; *Kirkelea*, D.B., p. 5. The prefix is Norse; from O.N. *kirkja*, a church. The sense is 'kirk-lea'; i.e. 'church-lea.'

OAKLEY. To the N. of Eye. Spelt *Acle*, R.B.; D.B., p. 180. From A.S. *āc*, an oak; and *lēah*. Lit. 'oak lea.' Written *ác-lea*; Birch, C.S. ii. 291.

OTLEY. Spelt *Oteleye*, Ipm., H.R.; *Otteleye*, H.R.; *Otelega*, D.B., p. 133. The prefix is the same as in *Otan-hyrst*; in Kemble's index. The sense is 'Ota's lea.'

SHELLEY. Spelt *Selleye*, H.R.; *Selflega*, T.N.; *Sceueleia*, D.B., pp. 13, 14. The A.S. dat. case is Scelflēage; Thorpe, Diplomat., p. 525. The sense is 'shelf lea.' *Shelf* may answer to the A.S. *scylf*, a crag, a rock, a tor; but the prov. E. *shelf* also means a shoal, a ford; or *shelf* may mean a high terrace or ledge.

SHOTLEY. Spelt *Schottele*, T.N.; *Scoteleia*, D.B., p. 13. Apparently trisyllabic; compare *Scotehō*, *Scotta pæð*, *Scotta-rīð*, in Kemble's index. The sense is doubtful. I incline to consider it as containing the A.S. *scot*, a building, as in the compound *sele-scot*; and to look upon the original form as having been *scota lēah*, 'lea of huts' or of small buildings. Cf. the M.Du. *schot*, 'a closure of boards,' in Hexham. See *Scot* in the A.S. Dictionary. The word *sele-scot* is rendered *tabernaculum* in Matt. xvii. 4 (Old Mercian Version) and in the Vespasian Psalter Ps. xiv. 1.

SOTTERLEY. Spelt *Soterle*, H.R.; T.N.; Ipm., p. 249; *Soterleghe*, R.B.; *Soterlega*, D.B., p. 41. The same old spelling of the prefix occurs in *Soterton*, Ipm., p. 203, which represents Sutterton, Lincs.; so that Sotterley might have become Sutterley. The meaning of the prefix in Sutterton is easily ascertained; since we find the spelling Sutterton in Birch, C.S. ii. 53, but Sutherton in the same, ii. 137. It thus appears that Sotter- has the same sense as the Souther- in SOUTHERTON, q.v. The sense is 'lea more to the south'; possibly because it is to the South of the Hundred River, but a mile away from it.

N.B. Björkman notes a Norse name Sóti, O. Danish Soti, but the gen. is Sota, not Sotar; so that it will not account for the prefix Sotter-; and still less for Sutter-.

Trimley. Certainly for Tremley, with *im* for *em*, a common change. Spelt *Tremlye*, Ipm.; *Tremlega*, D.B., p. 124; *Tremelaia*, D.B., p. 286. Copinger also records the forms *Tremley*, *Tremleye*, *Tremele*, *Tremeley*. The difficulty is to know whether the middle *e* in the last three forms is significant. Perhaps it is best so to consider it, as it is hard to see why it should have been inserted. I can only conjecture that it represents a form *Treman*, gen. of *Trema*, which is a variant of *Tryma*, with the Suffolk *e* for the A.S. *y*, as in a few other cases. Though *Tryma* does not occur, it is easily associated, as an agential masc. in *-a*, with *trymian*, *trymman*, also found as *tremman*, to confirm, strengthen, set in order; whence it might well become a name, as signifying 'one who strengthens.' The base *Trum-* appears in such names as Trum-beorht, Trum-here, &c. The A.S. *trymian* has given us the modern E. *to trim*. Trimley can hardly mean 'trim lea,' because this adjective is comparatively modern, and due to the old verb. In fact, the A.S. adj. is not *trym*, but *trum*, i.e. strong, firm, excellent. The sense probably would be 'Tryma's lea.'

Westley. Spelt *Westlega*, R.B.; *Westle*, H.R.; *Westlea*, D.B., p. 156. Meaning 'west lea.' There is another Westley in Cambs.

Yaxley. Spelt *Yakesley*, Ipm.; *Iacheslea*, D.B., p. 201. There is another Yaxley in Hunts. The A.S. form is *Gēaceslēa*; in Kemble, C.D., v. 342; from *gēaces*, gen. of *gēac*, a cuckoo. The sense is 'cuckoo's lea.' Fully discussed in my Place-names of Hunts.

34. Low.

The suffix *-low* is not uncommon; it represents the A.S. *hlāw*, a mound; sometimes a burial mound or barrow. The only Suffolk example is Thurlow.

Thurlow. Spelt *Thrillowe Magna*, Ipm.; i.e. Great Thurlow. There is also a Little Thurlow. Spelt *Trillawe*, H.R.; *Trillowe*, H.R. *Thrillauura*, D.B., p. 182; *Tridlauua*, D.B., p. 233; *Tritlawa*, D.B., p. 11. The final *t*, *d* in the D.B. *Trit-*, *Trid-*, point to an A.S. *th*; and the true initial was *Th*

also. Hence it represents an A.S. *Thrȳthe-hlāw*; where *Thrȳth* (gen. *Thrȳthe*) is a known female name. The sense is 'burial-mound of Thrȳth.'

35. Meadow.

Meadow represents the A.S. *mādwe*, dat. of *mād*, a mead; so that *meadow* is, in fact, merely the dative of *mead*, without any variation of sense. The only example is Shipmeadow.

Shipmeadow. Spelt *Scipmedu*, D.B., p. 41. Copinger notes the forms *Shepmedwe*, *Shepmed*; where the *e* is older than *i*. From A.S. *scēap*, a sheep. The sense is 'sheep-meadow.' In Shropshire, a sheep is always a *ship*; and the pl. is *ships*. Cf. Ship-ton.

36. Mere.

The term *mere* was applied to a lake or pool of any size. In some counties, another *mere* is used as a suffix also, with the sense of 'boundary.' But I think this second suffix does not appear in Suffolk names. The examples are five, viz. Bosmere, Hartismere, Livermere, Rushmere, Semer.

Bosmere. This is the name of a hundred. Spelt *Bosemere*, H.R.; *Bosemera*, D.B., p. 9. The prefix is from the A.S. *Bōsan*, gen. of *Bōsa*, a name of which there are several examples; as in *Bōsen-hangran*, in Birch, C.S. ii. 492. The sense is 'Bōsa's mere.' I find, in the Ordnance map, that there is still a pool or small mere, beside the river Gipping, less than a mile below Needham Market. It is situate within grounds belonging to a hall named Bosmere Hall. This pool is called Bosmere in one of Kirby's maps; it was probably larger in days when little care was taken of the waterways. Moreover, it is situate very near the centre of Bosmere Hundred. In the Beauties of England, p. 217, Bosmere lake is called "a lake of 30 or 40 acres."

Hartismere. The name of a hundred. Spelt *Hertesmere*, H.R.; T.N.; D.B., p. 260; *Hertesmera*, D.B., p. 3. The O. Mercian

equivalent is *Herotes mere*, later form *Hertes mere*; where *Herot, Hert*, answer to the A.S. *Heorot, Heort*, lit. 'a hart.' But it is here a name. The sense is 'Hart's mere.'

LIVERMERE. Sometimes miscalled Livermore; as in Kirby. To the N.N.E. of Bury is Livermere Park, containing a lake of considerable length. Spelt *Livermere*, H.R.; *Livremere*, R.B.; *Liuermera*, D.B., p. 166. Spelt *Leuuremer* in a charter of Edward the Confessor, in Kemble, C.D. iv. 245; but the copy is a late one, and the spelling is that of a Norman scribe. The name seems to be a mere compound, and is easily explained by the A.S. *lǽfer, lefr*, a yellow flag, the plant *Iris Pseudacorus*, still called *levers* (sometimes *livers*) in prov. E.; see the E.D.D. The sense is 'flag-mere.' See RUSHMERE below.

Perhaps it is well to note here that the same explanation may not apply to Liverpool; which is supposed to have been 'Lēofhere's pool.' See Wyld, Lancs. Place-names.

RUSHMERE. Considered by Kelly to be a part of Ipswich. It lies to the N.E. of the town. Spelt *Rushemore* (with *o* for *e*, a common error), Ipm.; *Riscemara*, D.B., p. 4. The latter spelling is explained by the fact that the usual A.S. form of 'rush' is *risc*; whence *Risc-mere*; Birch, i. 83, l. 3. The sense is simply 'rush-mere.'

SEMER. On the river Brett, some distance above Hadleigh. The Ordnance map shows a small pool near the church. Spelt *Semere*, H.R.; this seems to be the oldest spelling; *Seamera*, D.B., p. 176. It is seldom mentioned; Copinger has also *Saymer, Seamer*. It appears to be simply compounded of the A.S. *sǣ*, a sea, lake, pool, pond; and *mere*, a mere. The A.S. *sǣ* was applied to a pool of any size as well as to the sea; and a pool would thus be called simply 'sea'; very likely, *mere* was a later explanatory addition; its sense was very nearly as vague.

37. POOL.

The A.S. *pōl*, a pool, sometimes appears as *-pole* in the suffix of a place-name. It occurs in Walpole. Cf. POLSTEAD.

Walpole. To the S.W. of Halesworth. Spelt *Walepol*, R.B.; H.R.; *Walepola*, D.B., p. 24. It appears as Walepol in a late charter with Norman spellings; in Kemble, C.D. iv. 245; with reference to Walpole in Norfolk. The prefix *Wale-* represents the A.S. *Wēala*, gen. pl. of *Wealh*, a foreigner, a Briton. The sense is 'Britons' pool'; or 'Welshmen's pool.' Cf. Welshpool.

38. Set, Sett.

The suffix *-set*, as in Somer-set, represents the A.S. *-sāte*, a pl. form signifying settlers, residents, or inhabitants. There is also a by-form *-sātan*, pl., with the same sense. It occurs in Bricett, Elmsett, Hessett, Wetheringsett, and, etymologically, in Wissett.

Bricett. Great Bricett is to the S.W. of Needham Market; the *i* is long, as in E. *ice*. Spelt *Bresete*, Ipm.; H.R.; *Brisete*, T.N., Ipm.; D.B. has *Brieseta*, pp. 226, 273; *Bricseta*, p. 248 (printed *Brieseta* in the Victoria County History of Suffolk). It is in the hundred of Bosmere, and we find in D.B., p. 306, the following note, which seems to allude to Bricett.—"Hundret de Bosemera. In *Brictices-haga* est silua qua poterant pasci xvi. porc'." Again, in D.B., p. 12, is another note:—"Herchesteda: ten' Harold t[empore] r[egis] e[dwardi] V. car' terre: *pro* berewica in *brictesceseia* in comitatu de exsessa [Essex]." It is certain that the latter note refers to Brightlingsea in Essex, lit. 'Brightling's island'; but instead of *-ling's* we here have *-esces*, for *-isces*, i.e. mod. E. *-ish's*. That is, instead of 'Brightling's island' it is here called 'Brightish's island,' which apparently expresses the same thing; the suffixes being adjectival and equivalent. In the same way, *Brictices haga* (better spelt *Brictisces haga*) means 'Brightish haw'; and we may fairly conclude that Bricett was originally *Brictsete* in Norman, or *Beorht-sāte* in A.S. spelling. The A.S. *beorht* is not only an adj., meaning 'bright,' but also a neut. sb., meaning 'brightness' or 'clear light.' I explain *Beorht-sāte* as 'settlers in a bright spot.' This may seem a somewhat strange formation, but it is exemplified and justified by the notorious form *Sumer-*

sæte, or 'summer-settlers,' which exists to-day as Somerset. That Brightset could pass into Bricett is sufficiently obvious; but it would not be easy to assign any other form which would give the same result. The intermediate form would be Brighset, which (if the *gh* be kept silent) fairly accounts for the modern pronunciation.

ELMSETT. Spelt *Elmesete*, T.N.; *Elmesset*, H.R.; *Elmeseta*, D.B., p. 249. We find the gen. pl. *Elmesētene* in Birch, C.D., i. 502, l. 11. The correct nom. pl. of this is *Elmesætan*, i.e. 'settlers at the elm,' or 'beside the elm.' *Elme* is in the dat. case, the prep. *æt*, 'at,' being understood.

HESSETT; also HEDGSETT (in 1813). Spelt *Hegesset*, H.R.; misspelt *Heteseta* (probably for *Heceseta*, with Norman *c* for *g*), D.B., p. 149. Copinger also gives *Heggesete*, *Heggesett*, *Hegsete*, *Hegyssete*. The *g* must have been single, because the M.E. *gg* became *dg*. The derivation is not exactly from the A.S. *hecg*, 'hedge,' but from the allied form *hege*, a 'hay' or fence. The sense is 'hay-settlers'; where *hay* is the prov. E. *hay*, 'a hedge, a fence, a boundary'; E.D.D. The A.S. form is *hege-sæte*.

WETHERINGSETT. Spelt *Wederingesete*, R.B.; *Wederingaseta*, D.B., p. 179; *Weringheseta* (a contracted form), D.B., p. 10. We find the A.S. form *Wederingesete* in Kemble, C.D. iv. 245; but the copy is in late and Norman spelling. The *th* is unoriginal, as in *father*, *mother* (A.S. *fæder*, *mōdor*); several words ending in *-der* were altered so as to end in *-ther* in the fifteenth century. No name begins with *Wether* in Old English; but the *Wederas*, or tribe of *Weders*, are mentioned repeatedly in Beowulf. They were a tribe of Gēats, and their province was called Weder-mearc or 'Weder-mark.' No doubt the Wederings belonged to this tribe. The sense is 'settlers belonging to the tribe of the Weders.'

WISSETT. Spelt *Wyssete*, Ipm.; *Wisete*, R.B.; *Wysete*, H.R.; *Wiseta*, D.B., p. 337; *Wisseta*, D.B., p. 25. The corresponding A.S. form should be *Wī-sæte*; and I take *wī* to represent the A.S. *wīh*, 'an idol,' of which the original sense was really 'a heathen temple,' like that of the O. Sax. *wīh*, Icel. *vē*. The

sense is 'settlers beside or near a temple.' A corresponding name *Vēseti* occurs in O. Norse, and was used as a personal name, though the original sense was 'settler near a temple'; see Björkman and Rygh. The name may have been merely borrowed from Norse; in which case it must be remembered that, as far as Suffolk was concerned, *Wīseti* was merely a personal name, the origin of which may have been but dimly remembered. Rygh gives no less than *seven* place-names in which the Norse name is preserved; such as *Veset-rud*, *Veset-vik*.

39. Stall.

This is the same word as the modern E. stall in cattle-stall; though the sense somewhat varies. It occurs in Burstall and Tunstall.

Burstall. To the W. of Ipswich. Spelt *Burstall*, H.R.; Ipm.; *Burgestala*, D.B., p. 189; *Burghestala*, D.B., pp. 193, 229. The A.S. form is *burg-steall*, lit. 'position for a fort'; not a common word. In the A.S. poem called 'The Ruins,' ed. Grein, l. 29, *brosnade burgsteal* means 'the foundation of the fort has crumbled to pieces.' In Wright and Wülker's Vocabularies, 205. 36, *burhsteal* has the curious sense of 'a path down a hill'; and the prov. E. *borstall* means 'a path up a steep hill'; or, in Kent, 'any seat on the side of a hill.'

Tunstall. Tunstall-cum-Dunningworth is nearly due W. of Aldeburgh. Spelt *Tunstall*, H.R.; T.N.; *Tonestala*, D.B., p. 236; *Tunestal*, D.B., p. 53. A.S. *tūn-steall*, a farmstead; from *tūn*, a 'town,' i.e. a farm; and *steall*, a stall, position, place, stead.

40. Stead.

Stead, a place, position, is the A.S. *stede*. It occurs in Belstead, Boxstead, Harkstead, Hawstead, Henstead, Linstead, Nettlestead, Polstead, Saxstead, Stanstead, Whepstead, Wherstead.

Belstead. S.W. of Ipswich. Spelt *Belstede*, H.R.; *Belesteda*, D.B., p. 51. I am in doubt as to the prefix; but think

it may be Norse. There is a Norse name *Beli*, occurring in the Edda; so that it might mean 'Beli's stead.' The gen. of *Beli* was *Belja*. Searle gives an E. name *Beola*, a moneyer in the time of Æthelred II. and Cnut. This may be merely the same name in E. spelling; and Belstead may represent Beolanstede. See BEALINGS (above).

BOXSTEAD, or BOXTED (Kelly). Spelt *Boxsted*, H.R.; Ipm.; *Boxstede*, T.N.; R.B.; *Boesteda*, D.B., pp. 138, 139. From A.S. *box*, a box-tree; and *stede*, a place. 'A place where box trees grow.'

HARKSTEAD. Spelt *Herkested*, H.R.; *Herkestede*, T.N., *Herchesteda* (with *che* = *ke*), D.B., pp. 12, 280. A similar prefix occurs in *Herces-næs*, *Herces-dīc*, and *Herces-get*; all in Birch, C.S. iii. 103. Compare also *Hœrices-hamm*; in Birch, C.S. ii. 298. *Herc* may be a shortened form of *Hœric*. A likely sense is 'Hæric's place' or 'Herc's place' or 'stead.' A weak form *Hereca* is given in Searle, and is probably an allied name. But all these forms, *Hœric*, *Herc*, *Hereca*, are probably un-English, and are really due to an O. Norse *Herekr*, or *Hœrekr*, explained by Rygh as a name which is only found in place-names, such as Herikstad (sometimes abbreviated to Herstad), which is obviously a Norse form of Harkstead. I regard Harkstead, accordingly, as due to Scandinavian influence.

HAWSTEAD. Spelt *Hausted*, H.R.; but *Halsteda*, D.B., p. 155. Copinger also gives *Halstead*, *Halsted*, *Halstede*, from other sources; so that an *ld* has been lost. I take the prefix to be the O. Merc. *hald*, A.S. *heald*, sloping; which sometimes appears in place-names. See *healdan graf*, sloping ditch; Birch, C.S. ii. 382; *healdan weg*, sloping way; id. 524; *healdan hlince*, sloping linch, id. iii. 33. The sense is 'sloping stead' or 'sloping place.' The form *hald* is also found in Old Frisian.

HENSTEAD. S.W. of Lowestoft. Spelt *Henestede*, H.R.; D.B., p. 238; *Henstede*, R.B.; *Henested*, *Hensted*, T.N. I regard it as a parallel formation to Henley; and explain it as representing A.S. *æt thām hēan stede*, 'at the high stead' or position. It is not very high, though above the Hundred river.

LINSTEAD. Spelt *Linsted*, Ipm.; *Linestede*, D.B., p. 61. The *e* before the *stede* in the latter form may be due to the *st* following, and need not be considered. From A.S. *līn*, flax; and *stede*, stead. The same prefix occurs in Linton, Cambs. The sense is 'flax-stead'; or place where flax was grown.

NETTLESTEAD. N.W. of Ipswich. Spelt *Netlested*, T.N.; *Netlestede*, R.B.; *Netlestedam*, D.B., p. 28. From A.S. *netele*, *netle*, a nettle. The sense is 'nettle-place.' There is another Nettlestead in Kent; spelt Netlestede in Birch, C.S. iii. 659, l. 19.

POLSTEAD. S.W. of Hadleigh. Spelt *Polsted*, R.B.; *Polstede*, T.N.; *Polesteda*, D.B., p. 241. It occurs as *Polstede* in Thorpe, Diplomat., p. 525. From A.S. *pōl*, a pool; and *stede*, a stead, place. Lit. 'pool-stead.'

SAXSTEAD. Spelt *Saxstede*, Ipm.; *Saxteda*, D.B., p. 37. For O. Merc. *Saxan stede*, A.S. *Seaxan stede*. Lit. 'Saxa's stead.' Saxa is a known name.

STANSTEAD. Spelt *Stansted*, Ipm.; H.R.; *Stanesteda*, D.B., p. 255. For A.S. *stānstede*; lit. 'stone stead.'

WHEPSTEAD. Spelt *Whepstede*, T.N.; Ipm.; *Huepestede*, D.B., p. 152. The A.S. form Hwipstede occurs in Ælfhelm's Will; in Thorpe, Diplomat., p. 596. The prefix must denote a personal name of the form *Hwipa or *Hwepa (gen. *Hwipan, *Hwepan); and the sense must be '*Hwipa's (or *Whepa's) stead.' There certainly was a base **hwip-*, probably with the sense of 'to move quickly' or 'to bend easily'; the A.S. *hwip-er* means unstable, infirm; Wright's Vocab. 245. 25.

WHERSTEAD. To the W. of the river Orwell, below Ipswich. Spelt *Whersted*, Ipm.; *Weruesteda*, D.B., p. 30. Copinger also quotes *Weruestede*, from another source. The prefix *Werue-*, for *Wherue-*, suggests the A.S. *hwearf*, *hwerf*, spelt *hwerf* in Thorpe, Diplomat., p. 341, l. 7; where it seems to mean a protecting bank. It further suggests that there was a wharf, bank, or landing-place on the Orwell, near Wherstead; and it is remarkable that the Ordnance map marks a "Wharf" not far

off, on the bank of the Orwell between Wherstead and Freston. It seems probable, accordingly, that Wherstead means 'wharf-stead.' The church is quite half a mile from the river, but the Hall is nearer.

41. Stoke, Stock.

The A.S. *stoc* meant, in the first instance, a stock or log; but is evidently used also in the sense of habitation or settlement; perhaps one protected by stocks or stakes, and so fenced in. It is safest to explain it by 'settlement.' The length of the *o* is doubtful; I see no special reason for supposing that it was long (*stōc*), though it is sometimes so marked. The modern English *stoke* will best answer to A.S. *stoce*, dative, with short *o*; just as the mod. E. *broken* is the A.S. *brŏcen*.

It seems only necessary to add that there is a Stoke-by-Clare, i.e. near Clare; a Stoke-by-Nayland; and a place called Stoke Ash, to the S.W. of Eye. The A.S. *stoc* occurs as a suffix in Tostock.

Tostock. To the E. of Bury. Spelt *Tostoke*, H.R.; *Totstocha* (with *ch* for *k*), D.B., p. 166; *Totestoc*, D.B., p. 8. The last is the fullest form. For A.S. *Tottan-stoc*; a form which occurs in Kemble, C.D. ii. 372. The sense is 'Totta's settlement.'

42. Stone.

Chediston. Near Halesworth. The suffix is not *-ton*, but *-stone*, as the old forms show. Spelt *Chedeston*, *Chedestan*, H.R.; *Cedestan* (with *ce* for *che*), D.B., p. 328; ill-spelt *Cidestan*, D.B., p. 103; misspelt *Sedestana* (with *se* for *ce*), D.B., p. 25. The A.S. *Ce* becomes M.E. *Che*; and the corresponding A.S. form is *Ceddes stān*, i.e. 'Cedd's stone.' This is more likely than *Ceddan stān*, i.e. 'Cedda's stone.' Cedd and Cedda are both real names, and are closely allied.

43. Stow.

Stow is the A.S. *stow*, a place; whence the phrase *to stow away*. There is a hundred named Stow; West Stow, two and a half miles W. of Ingham (N. of Bury); and Stowmarket, near

which is Stow Upland. The hundred may have been named from Stow, which was doubtless the old name of Stowmarket; since *market* is a word of Picard-French origin. Stowmarket is somewhere near the centre of Stow hundred. And *stow* appears as a suffix in Felixstowe.

Felixstowe. Copinger gives eleven spellings of this name. One of them is *Felixstow*. But the other ten are very different, viz. *Filthestowe, Fillthustowe*; also (with *c* for *t*, erroneously) *Felchestowe, Filchestowe, Fylchestow*; *Felyestowe* (with *y* for the A.S. $\flat = th$); and (in a contracted form) *Felstow, Fylstowe, Fylstoe, Filston* (error for *Filstou*). It is quite certain that, not long after the Conquest, the prevalent form was *Filthestow*, and that it was afterwards shortened to *Filthstow* and *Filstow*. The name Felixstow is, in fact, not the original one, and does not occur in early documents; but it was known in the time of Henry VIII., as it occurs in the Valor Ecclesiasticus, made during that reign. A distinction is there drawn between "prior' de *Filstowe* modo subpress'" (vol. iii. p. 447) and "monasterio de *Felyxstowe*" (vol. iii. p. 449); so that the names did not then refer to the same place. In Tanner's Notitia Monastica (ed. 1787) there is mention of the monastery of Walton St Felix; and he speaks of a MS. that refers to "the priory of Felixstowe, alias Fylchestowe in Walton." It appears, in fact, that Walton St Felix was a priory founded by Roger Bigod, about 1105; that it was called by the name of Felix; and that it was situate at Walton, about a mile from Filstow, properly so called[1]. The names were confused, and so the name of Filstow was sometimes changed to Felixstow, though many still held to the older name. Thus we find in Raven's Suffolk, p. 150—"Felixtow alias Fylstou." But in the present enlightened days, the more attractive name has prevailed, owing to such advancement of knowledge as has enabled the antiquaries to discover that the historian Beda mentions the labours of St Felix in Suffolk, who "had the see of his bishopric appointed him in the city Dommoc," which was the old name of Dunwich (Hist. Eccl. ii. 15). Dunwich, after all, is not

[1] "The church of St Felix in Walton"; Kirby, p. 88.

Felixstow, but it is in the same county; which is held to be good enough for corroboration of a blunder. One hardy fable is that St Felix *landed* near Felixstowe when he came from Burgundy!

It is more to the purpose to discover the origin of the true name Filstow. On this subject, we read in the Crawford Charters, ed. Napier and Stevenson, p. 71:—"Felixstowe, co. Suffolk, apparently represents a *Fileth-stow*, as it is called *Filthstowe* in 1316 (Nomina Villarum, 319 a)." They explain that "Fileth is an unexplained word that occurs several times in local names"; and they give examples, in which occur the spellings *fileth*, *filet*, *filed*, *fylet*, and once *fælet* (probably by error), in compounds; and uncompounded, in the expression *on filetha*; see Birch, C.S. iii. 494, 589, &c.; ii. 519. Such nouns are often made from verbs, and the right form may be *fyleth* (for *fylleth*), from *fyllan*, to fell trees. It would then correspond to the prov. E. *fellet*, 'the portion of a wood felled annually, a portion of felled wood.' The original sense may have been, simply, 'a place of felled trees,' a place where trees have been felled to make a clearing. It is compounded with *lēah*, a lea, *cumb*, a combe, *hamm*, an enclosure, and *stow*, a place; all implying some special locality, and all suitable. But whatever the right sense may be, we at any rate learn that Felixstow is an ingenious 'learned' alteration of a place that was once named Filethstow, afterwards shortened to Filthstow and Filstow. (I find that Middendorf derives *fileth* from A.S. *fillan*, to flay, skin, with reference to the removal of turf; but no such verb is found in A.S., and the sense is very forced. On the other hand, the verb 'to fell' appears as *fille* in the best (Ellesmere) MS. of Chaucer: "It semed as it wolde *fille* an ook"; Knightes Tale, A 1702.)

44. Thorpe.

Thorpe, more correctly *thorp*, is the O. Frisian and A.S. *thorp*, 'a village'; cognate with Du. *dorp*, G. *dorf*. We find (in Suffolk) Thorpe-Morieux, a hamlet called Thorpe near Aldringham, and Thorpe-by-Ixworth; and also Westhorpe. The first takes the name of Morieux from a Norman family so

called. The O. Fr. *moriel* (of which *morieux* is the plural) is a variant of *morel*, meaning 'mulberry-coloured'; the name *Morel* was often given to a horse. Westhorpe is merely compounded of West and Thorpe. Thorp is not exclusively Scandinavian, as some say.

45. Toft.

Toft meant a green knoll, open ground, or homestead; see my Etym. Dict. It occurs in Lowestoft and in Stowlangtoft. The latter is a mere compound, containing *Stow*, a place, *lang*, i.e. long; and *toft*; and Kirby thinks it was named from a family of Langtofts.

Lowestoft. Copinger gives many forms, including late spellings such as *Laistoft*, *Leistoft*, and *Lestoff*; the last of these represents a common pronunciation of it. An early spelling is *Lowistoft*, H.R.; T.N. D.B., p. 5, has *Lothuwistofte*. Here *Lothuwis* represents an A.S. *Hlōthuwīges*, gen. of *Hlōthuwīg*, usually spelt Hlōthewīg or Hlōdwīg; the form *Hlōthewīg* occurs in Birch, C.S. iii. 491, l. 1. This A.S. name is cognate with the Old High German Hluduwig or Hludwig, Mid. High G. Ludewic, G. Ludwig; a famous name, Latinised as Chlodovichus and Chlodovius, which produced the F. Louis. Thus the sense is 'Hlōthuwīg's toft' or homestead.

46. Ton, unstressed form of Town.

Acton. N. by E. from Sudbury. Spelt *Aketona*, D.B., p. 71, and on the same page, *Achetuna*. Copinger gives several forms, of which the most important are *Acketon*, *Aketon*, *Aketone*, *Aketune*; showing (by the *e* before the *t*) that it is not derived from A.S. *āc-tūn*, i.e. 'oak-town,' as is the case with some of the Actons elsewhere. Moreover, this Suffolk Acton appears as *Acantūn* in a list of boundaries of land at Bildeston, which is in the neighbourhood; and this A.S. form is consistent with the forms given above. Hence the meaning of this Acton is 'Aca's town,' Aca is a known name. See Birch, C.S. iii. 603. The A.S. *tūn*, lit. 'town,' had, practically, the sense of 'farm.'

ALDERTON. Near the E. coast, to the S. of the mouth of the Alde. Spelt *Alderton*, Ipm.; but *Alretuna* in D.B., p. 74; and *Alreton* in the Crawford Charters, p. 33. The prefix represents A.S. *alra*, gen. pl. of *alr*, an alder-tree. The sense is 'alders' town,' or 'farm by the alder-trees.'

ALPHETON. W. by N. from Lavenham. Also spelt ALPHEATON (Kelly). Spelt *Alfeton*, *Alffleton*, H.R. The latter spelling answers to the A.S. form *Ælflædetūn* in a Worcestershire Charter; in Birch, iii. 586. *Ælflæde* is better spelt *Ælfflæde*, the gen. of *Ælfflæd*, a female name, which accounts for the gen. in *-e* and the spelling *Alffleton* (with the double *f*). The sense is 'town (or farm) of Ælfflæd.' She was probably a widow.

AMPTON. N. of Bury, near Ingham station. Copinger records the old forms *Ameton*, *Ametone*, *Ametun*; spelt *Hametuna* (with *H* wrongly prefixed) in D.B., p. 165. The prefix represents the A.S. *Amman*, gen. of *Amma*; cf. *Amman-bröc*, *Ammanwell* (both in Kemble's Index). The sense is 'Amma's farm.'

ASSINGTON. N.W. of Nayton. Spelt *Asetune*, R.B.; *Asington*, T.N.; *Asinton*, *Asington*, H.R.; *Asetona*, D.B., p. 271. Copinger also records *Asentune*, *Assinton*, *Asynton*. The A.S. form is certainly *Asantūn*; and the *-an* has been turned into *-en*, *-in*, and *-ing*. We must neglect the *g* in this case. The sense is 'Asa's farm.' Asa is a known E. name.

ATHELINGTON. E. of Occold, which is S. by E. from Eye. Spelt *Athelington*, Ipm.; answering to A.S. *Æthelinga-tūn*; lit. 'town (or farm) of the Æthelings or nobles.' The A.S. *æthelíng* means a prince or nobleman. Cf. Athelney, of which the old form was Æthelinga-īg, or 'isle of nobles.' Perhaps I ought to add that to translate *æthelíng* by 'noble' in these instances is by no means certain; since Æthelíng might equally well have the simpler sense of 'son of Æthela,' i.e. 'son of any one whose name began with Æthel'; and such names are numerous.

BACTON. N. of Stowmarket. Copinger gives the forms *Baketon*, *Bakenton*; D.B. has *Bachetuna*, p. 292 (with *che* for *ke*).

The late A.S. *Baketun* occurs in the Crawford Charters, p. 33. For A.S. *Bacan-tūn*. The sense is 'Baca's farm.' Baca is a known name.

Barton. Great Barton; N.E. of Bury. Spelt *Bertuna*, D.B., p. 162. A.S. *beretūn*, lit. 'corn-farm,' or barley-enclosure; from *bere*, barley. There are many Bartons.

Belton. S.W. of Yarmouth. Spelt *Belton*, H.R.; *Beltone*, R.B.; *Beletuna*, D.B., pp. 6, 8. For the prefix, see Belstead.

Beyton. Spelt *Beyton*, Ipm.; *Beytone*, R.B.; *Begatona*, D.B., p. 259. It answers to A.S. *Bēgan-tūn*. The prefix *Bēgan* occurs in *Bēgan-wyrth*; Birch, C.S. iii. 96, l. 29. The sense is 'Bēga's farm.' The prefix in Bayford (Herts.) is not quite the same, as the form in D.B. is *Begesford*; see my Place-names of Herts., p. 27.

Bildeston. N. of Hadleigh. Spelt *Bildeston*, H.R.; T.N.; *Bildestone*, R.B.; *Bilestuna*, D.B., p. 291. The *d* is intrusive, as the last form shows. Alluded to in the form *Byliges-dȳne*; Birch, C.S. iii. 603; where *dȳne* is a derivative from *dūn*. The same prefix occurs in *Bylges-lēge*, in the A.S. Chron., an. 1055. The sense is 'Bylig's farm.'

Blundeston. N.W. of Lowestoft. Spelt *Blundeston*, H.R. *Blundes* is the gen. of *Blund*, which occurs as a personal name in the name-list given in Ipm., vol. i. Of Norse origin; Zoega has: Icel. "*blundr*, m. dozing, slumber; occurs as a nickname." The sense is 'Blund's farm'; Blund (orig. Blundr) being Norse.

Boyton. S. of Butley, and near the Butley river. Spelt *Bointone*, R.B.; *Boituna*, D.B., p. 31. Copinger also has the form *Boynton*. The prefix *Boin-* is short for A.S. *Boian*, late form of *Bogan*, gen. of *Boga*, a known name. The sense is 'Boga's farm.'

Brampton. N.E. of Halesworth. Spelt *Brampton*, T.N.; but *Bramtuna*, D.B., p. 15; *Brantuna*, D.B., p. 102. Copinger also gives the form *Bramton*; and the *p* is certainly unoriginal.

The dat. form *Bramtūne* occurs in the A.S. Chronicle, an. 1121. The form with *mt* must be older than that with *nt*; the change from *mt* to *nt* is easy, but that from *nt* to *mt* is abnormal. The same prefix *Bram-* occurs again in *Bramcestria* (Birch, C.S. iii. 280), which is Brancaster in Norfolk; showing that the original form of Brancaster was *Bramceaster* in Anglo-Saxon. The meaning of Bram (which can hardly, in the latter case, represent a personal name) is unknown; but it may be related to the A.S. *brōm*, a broom, with which the mod. E. *bramble* is etymologically connected. The sense of 'bramble-farm' seems possible here. (If a personal name, it is from *Brama*, gen. of *Brami*, a Norse name; see Nielsen.)

Brandeston. *Brandeston* (Leic.) appears in Ipm. We also find *Branteston*, T.N.; *Braundestone*, in the Liber Custumarum; *Brantestuna*, D.B., p. 302; but *Brandestuna*, D.B., p. 216. *Brandes* is the gen. of the known name *Brand*; and the sense is 'Brand's farm.'

Browston, in Belton; a hamlet one mile S.E. of Belton. Copinger gives, as old spellings, the forms *Broweston* and *Broxton*. It answers, by position, to *Brockestuna*, D.B., p. 7; and the last two forms suggest that a guttural sound has been lost, and that the original form was *Brocces-tūn*; with which compare *Brocces-ham*, *-hlæw*, and *-slæd*, in Kemble's Index. The sense may have been 'Brocc's farm.'

Carlton. Carlton Colville is to the S.W. of Lowestoft; and Colville is the name of a Norman family connected with it. Spelt *Carleton*, T.N., H.R.; *Carletuna*, D.B., p. 254; *Karletuna*, D.B., p. 43. For A.S. *Carla tūn*, 'farm of the churls' or husbandmen. *Carla* is the gen. pl. of *carl*, a churl, a husbandman; where *carl* is not the true native word, but borrowed from the O. Norse *karl*, a man, rustic, carle; the A.S. related word is *ceorl*, mod. E. *churl*; as in Chelsworth.

Chelmondiston. Commonly called Chemton (Kirby). Near the S.W. bank of the Orwell. Spelt *Chelmundeston*, H.R.; *Chelmondeston*, T.N. The A.S. form is *Cēolmundes tūn*, i.e. 'Cēolmund's farm.' Cēolmund was once a very common name.

Chevington. S.W. of Bury. The *g* is a late insertion; it should have been Cheventon. Spelt *Cheventon*, H.R.; *Ceventuna* (with *Ce* for *Che*), D.B., p. 153. The prefix is the A.S. *Ceofan*, gen. of *Ceofa*; and the sense is 'Ceofa's farm.'

Chilton. Near Sudbury. Spelt *Chilton*, Ipm.; *Ciltona* (with *Ci* for *Chi*), D.B., p. 47. Copinger also gives the spellings *Cheletuna*, *Chelton*, without references. But these forms are doubtless right, and show that *e* was the older vowel. The prefix *Chele-* represents the A.S. *Cēolan*, as in *Cēolan-hyrst*; Birch, C.S., ii. 458. *Cēolan* is the gen. of *Cēola*; and the sense is 'Cēola's farm.' *Ceola* would become *Cheel*, easily shortened to *Chil*.

Clopton. Spelt *Clopton*, H.R.; *Clopetuna*, D.B., p. 70. The prefix *Clope-* answers to the A.S. *Cloppa* in *Cloppa-hām*; see Sweet, E. Eng. Texts, p. 451. This *Cloppa* looks like a gen. pl. from a nom. *clop*, as in *clop-æcer*, *clop-hyrst*, in Birch, C.S., iii. 589, 590. In this case, it is difficult to assign the origin; unless we ally it to the O.H.G. *claph*, 'a boulder.' Otherwise, *Clope* may answer to the A.S. *Cloppan*, gen. of *Cloppa*, a personal name, not exactly found; but it may be the equivalent of Clappa, the name of a king of Bernicia in Florence of Worcester's Chronicle, i. 6; according to Prof. Moorman, in his account of Clapham in the W. Riding, Clapham in Surrey is called Cloppaham in Kemble, C.D., no. 317; so that Clap and Clop seem to have been convertible.

Coney Weston. N. of Ixworth; not far from the Little Ouse. Spelt *Cunegestuna*, D.B., p. 169; showing that the name has suffered some alteration. The original prefix must have been the O. Norse *konungs*, a form of the gen. of *konung*, a king. The second *n* being lost, this took the form *konugs*; or (with the English suffix *-es* in place of the Norse *s*) *konuges*, fairly well represented by the *Cuneges* in D.B.; after which the *-es* was dropped, and the prefix became Coney. We thus see that the original sense was 'king's town or farm'; which would regularly have given a later form Coneyton; but the latter part of the word was changed from *ton* to *Weston* (west

town); evidently by association with the neighbouring village called Market Weston, the prefix Coney being contrasted with that of Market. Compare Coneythorpe in the W. Riding, which means 'king's thorpe' or 'king's village.'

CORTON. On the E. coast, N. of Lowestoft. Spelt *Cortone*, R.B.; *Corton*, H.R.; *Karetuna*, D.B., p. 6 (which can hardly be quite correct, but must stand for *Koretuna*). The sense of the prefix is unknown and uncertain; but *Kore-* suggests an A.S. *Coran, gen. of *Cora, used as a personal name. That such a name was in use is suggested by the occurrence of *Cores*, the gen. of a strong form *Cor*. *Cores* occurs in *Coresbróc*; in Kemble, C.D., no. 632. Hence a possible sense is 'Cora's farm.'

COTTON. Near Mendlesham. Spelt *Coton*, H.R.; but D.B. has *Cottuna*, pp. 10, 11; *Cotetuna*, p. 84; and *Codetuna*, p. 58. It is clear that, of these forms, *Codetuna* is the older; afterwards *d* became *t*, and the two *t*'s were united. *Codentuna* at once suggests an equivalent A.S. form *Codan-tūn*. The prefix *Codan* occurs in *Codan-ford*; Birch, C.S., ii. 224, l. 3. The sense is 'Coda's farm.' See CODDENHAM.

DENNINGTON. N. of Framlingham. Spelt *Dinyeueton*, H.R.; *Dingiuetuna*, D.B., p. 90; *Dingiuetona*, D.B., p. 91; *Binneuetuna* (where *B* is an error for *D*), D.B., p. 95. Copinger gives a large number of later forms, among which may be particularly noticed these: *Digneveton, Dingneueton, Dingniueton, Dinieueton, Dyneyeueton*. It is clear that the original suffix was by no means *-ington*; but that *-ington* was substituted for something far less usual. All the forms can, without much difficulty, be deduced from A.S. *Denegife, gen. of a female name *Denegifu. Though this name does not happen to occur, it is regular and probable, as it is compounded of the common prefix *Dene-* and the common suffix *-gifu*. Moreover, we find a similar form *Denegȳth*, also a female name, with a gen. *Denegȳthe*. The compound place-name *Dengithe-graf* (with *i* for *ȳ*) occurs in Birch, C.S., ii. 419, l. 3. The *g* in *gifu* was pronounced as *y*, and the form Deneyiveton easily became Denyivton; and this

unusual and difficult form was changed to Dennington, because the suffix *-ington* was common. I have little hesitation in explaining this unusual name to mean 'Denegifu's farm'; and we must remember that this is a female name, with a genitive in *-e*.

Denstone; otherwise Denardiston (Kelly). Spelt *Denardeston*, H.R.; *Danerdestuna*, D.B., p. 219. Evidently for *Deneheardes tūn* (O. Merc. *Denehardes tūn*). The gen. occurs (with *Dæne-* for the more usual *Dene-*) in *Dæneheardes hegerǽwe*; Birch, C.S., ii. 81. The sense is 'Denehard's farm.'

Drinkstone. E. by S. from Bury. Spelt *Drencheston*, Ipm.; H.R.; *Drencestuna*, D.B., p. 164. Other spellings (in Copinger) are *Drengstone*, *Dryngeston*,' which are, practically, better. The form *Rengestuna* occurs in D.B., p. 21, with initial *D* omitted by mistake. A more correct form would be *Drenges-tūn*, where *Drenges* is the gen. of the A.S. *dreng*, a warrior, soldier; not an English word, and only occurring once, as it was borrowed from O. Norse. The O. Norse word was *drengr*, a valiant man, strong young fellow. The sense is 'soldier's farm.' The same prefix occurs in Dringhouse, in the W. Riding; see the discussion of the social position of the *drengr* in Prof. Moorman's W. Riding Names, p. xxiii.

N.B.—Dreng was also a personal name (Nielsen).

Easton. There are two Eastons; one near Southwold, and another on the Deben. It means 'east town' or 'east farm.'

Edwardstone. Between Sudbury and Hadleigh. Spelt *Edwardeston*, T.N.; Ipm.; *Eduardestuna*, D.B., p. 47. For A.S. *Ēadweardes tūn*; O. Merc. *Ēadwardes tūn*; mod. E. 'Edward's farm.'

Erwarton. N. of the Stour, near its mouth. Spelt *Euerwardton*, H.R.; *Eurewardestuna*, D.B., p. 229. For O. Merc. *Eforwardes tūn*, A.S. *Eoforweardes tūn*. The sense is 'Eforward's farm.'

Euston. S.E. of Thetford. Spelt *Eustone*, R.B.; *Eueston*, H.R.; *Euestuna*, D.B., p. 174. In the last two examples, *u* is

for *v*; so that an older name was Eveston. The prefix is the same as in Evesham, viz. the A.S. *Eofes*, gen. of *Eof*, a known name. The sense is 'Eof's farm.'

FLEMPTON. N.W. of Bury. The spelling in D.B. is *Flemingtuna*, p. 154. This answers to A.S. *flēaminga tūn* or O. Merc. *flēminga tūn*, where *flēaminga* is the gen. pl. of *flēaming*, a fugitive. The sense is 'farm of the fugitives.'

FLIXTON. There are two Flixtons; one near Bungay, and one near Lowestoft. Spelt *Flixton*, H.R.; Ipm.; *Flixtuna*, D.B., p. 6. Perhaps of Norse origin. Nielsen says that Flik was a Danish name, known in the thirteenth century. This form would suit very well, as it would take the form of Flikkes when declined as an E. name. It is quite likely that Flixton meant 'Flik's farm.' In Raven's Hist. of Suffolk, p. 44, it is said that "the two Flixtons preserve the name of Felix." Of course this is wholly impossible, and shows what comes of neglecting phonetic laws. The stressed vowel in Felix cannot disappear; a shortened form would become Feli or Fele.

FLOWTON. Between Bury and Bildeston. The name (like Browston) has lost a guttural; spelt *Flokton* in Ipm.; *Flochetuna* (with *che* for *ke*), D.B., pp. 114, 226. The A.S. *ct* becomes *ht*; and this *ht* becomes M.E. *gh*, and then *w*; the form *Floctūn* would regularly become *Flohtūn*, *Floghton*, *Flowton*. The present form shows that the *e* in the D.B. form *Flochetuna* was falsely inserted; and that the A.S. form was *Floctūn*, with the *c* and *t* in contact. Floctūn is for *flocc-tūn*; from *flocc*, a flock of sheep. The sense is 'flock-farm' or 'sheep-farm.'

FRESTON. Near the S.W. bank of the Orwell. Spelt *Frestune*, H.R.; *Fresetuna*, D.B., p. 230. A.S. *Fresan tūn*; Birch, C.S., iii. 602. *Fresan* is the gen. of *Fresa*, a Frisian. The sense is 'farm (or town) of the Frisian.' This is an interesting result. See FRISTON.

FRISTON. S.W. of Saxmundham. This name is a mere variant of Freston (above), and has the same sense. And see FRESSINGFIELD.

FRITTON. N.W. of Lowestoft. Spelt *Freton*, H.R.; *Fridetuna*, D.B., p. 7 (with *d* for *th*). For A.S. *Frith-tūn*; see Thorpe, Diplomat., p. 564, l. 7. Cf. A.S. *frith-burh*, a town in which *frith* or peace between two parties was secured. Hence the sense is 'frith farm,' or 'a farm to which security was assured.' The security may have been due to situation. For the development of the senses of *frith*, see N.E.D.

GORLESTON. It forms a part of Great Yarmouth. Spelt *Gorleston*, T.N., H.R.; *Gurleston*, T.N.; *Gorlestuna*, D.B., p. 6. The prefix evidently represents the gen. case of a name which has been cut down to Gorl. I can think of no form that would admit of this except *Gorwulf, made (like Gārwulf) with the suffix *wulf*. There is such a prefix as *Gor-*, in limited use; it occurs in *Gor-mund* and *Gor-nōth*. Gārwulf became Gārulf, and might (in D.B.) have been shortened to Gār'l, but would hardly have given the required vowel *o* at so early a date as 1086. As a rather likely guess, I suggest the sense of 'Gorwulf's farm.'

GUNTON. Near Lowestoft. Spelt *Gunetone*, R.B.; *Guneton*, H.R. Evidently Norse. From the O. Norse *Gunna-tūn*; where *Gunna* is the O.N. gen. of *Gunni*, a known masc. name, which is common in place-names (Rygh). The sense is 'Gunni's farm.'

HACHESTON. Spelt *Hacheston*, *Haccheston*, Ipm.; *Hacestuna*, D.B., p. 26; *Hecestuna*, D.B., p. 12. The palatalised form suggests an English origin, rather than Norse. The patronymic *Hæcing* occurs in Birch, C.S., ii. 403, l. 27, from a form *Hæc (gen. Hæces). The sense is probably 'Hæc's farm.' The weak form *Haca* is known.

HARLESTON. Three miles N.W. of Stowmarket Station. Spelt *Herleston*, H.R.; *Heroluestuna*, D.B., p. 159. A.S. *Heorulfes tūn*; Kemble, C.D., no. 722. *Heorulfes* is the gen. of *Heorulf*, shortened form of *Heoruwulf*. The sense is 'Heoruwulf's farm.'

HASKETON. Near Woodbridge. Spelt *Hasketon*, H.R.; *Haschetuna*, D.B., p. 69; *Hascetuna*, D.B., p. 70. The *sk*

shows that the name is of Norse origin. Rygh gives O. Norse *Höskuldr*, a Norse personal name which appears in place-names as Haskel. Hence *Haskeltūn, shortened to Hasketūn. The sense is therefore 'Höskuldr's farm.'

HEMINGSTONE. E. by S. of Needham Market. Spelt *Hemingeston*, T.N.; *Hemingestone*, Ipm.; *Hamingestuna*, D.B., pp. 29, 115. But Copinger also gives the fuller forms *Helmingstone*, *Hemelingeston*, showing that an *el* has been lost after the *m*. The original form was therefore *Hemelinges tūn*; and the sense is 'Hemeling's farm,' or 'farm of the son of Hemele.' Hemele is a known name, of which Searle gives *six* examples.

HINTON. A mile and a half S.W. of Blythburgh. Spelt *Hinetuna*, D.B., p. 101. There are several Hintons; and Hinton (Dors.) is spelt *Hineton* in Ipm., p. 20. These spellings show that Hinton represents the A.S. *hīna tūn* where *hīna* is the gen. of *hīwan*, a pl. sb. meaning 'domestic servants,' and allied to mod. E. *hind*, an agricultural labourer. The sense is 'farm of the labourers'; a farm held by the labourers upon it, of which there were examples in a few places. Cf. CARLTON (above).

HOLTON. Near Halesworth. Spelt *Holeton*, Ipm.; H.R.; *Holiton*, H.R.; *Holetuna*, D.B., pp. 67, 102. Not from A.S. *hālig*, holy, because the A.S. *ā* is represented by *a* in D.B., as in A.S. *stāntūn*, D.B. *Stanton*, &c. In some cases Hol- represents A.S. *holan*, 'hollow,' but this is scarcely applicable here. Rather, in this case, the corresponding A.S. *Holan-tūn* must be due to a personal name *Hola* (gen. *Holan*), as also in such a compound as *Holan-beorh*, Hola's hill or barrow. The sense is 'Hola's farm.' And see HOLLESLEY.

HONINGTON. N. by W. from Ixworth. Spelt *Honeweton*, Ipm.; *Hunegtuna*, D.B., p. 171. Copinger also has *Honyton*, *Hunegetune*. *Huneg* represents the A.S. *hunig*, honey. Kemble has several place-names beginning with *Hunig*, as *Hunig-brōc*, *-burne*, *-ham*, *-hyrst*, &c.; and there seems to be no reason against its occurrence here also. The sense is 'honey-farm,'

or a farm where bees were kept. It might be supposed that Honiton became Honington by confusion with the numerous places ending in *-ington*, as in other cases. But in the present case a simpler solution presents itself. The Danish for *honey* is *honning*, and the Swedish is *honing*; so that Honing was merely due to the Scandinavian way of pronouncing *honey*.

Hopton. N. of Lowestoft. There is another Hopton, near Thetford. Spelt *Hopeton*, H.R.; T.N.; *Hopetuna*, D.B., p. 170; *Hoppetuna*, D.B., p. 66; *Hopestuna*, D.B., p. 69. The last form contains an *s*, which can hardly be original. There is another Hopton in the W. Riding; and it is supposed that the prefix is the A.S. *hop*, mod. prov. E. *hope*, 'a small enclosed valley,' 'a recess in a valley,' or 'a piece of enclosed land.' The sense is 'hope farm'; where *hope* is to be thus explained. The insertion of the *e* seems to have no meaning in this case.

Hunston. S.E. of Ixworth. Formerly *Hunterstuna*, D.B., p. 11. Copinger also gives the forms *Honterston*, *Huntereston*, *Hunteriston*, and the like; all answering to A.S. *Hunteres tūn*, i.e. 'Hunter's town' or 'farm.'

Kedington. Near Haverhill. Spelt *Ketton* in 1813, in Beauties of England, xiv. 142; *Keditun*, T.N.; H.R.; *Kidituna*, D.B., p. 220. Copinger also gives *Kedintun*, *Kedynton*; showing that an *n* must be supplied before *t*. The name does not seem to be Norse; nor can it be from an A.S. base Ced-, because that would have given us Ched-. The use of *i* in *Kid-* in D.B., and of *e* in *Ked-* in other records, suggests that the A.S. vowel was *y*, before which the *C* would remain hard. The A.S. form was probably *Cydan-tūn*; where *Cydan* is the gen. of *Cyda*. The name *Cȳda* occurs in the Durham Liber Vitae. If this be right, the sense is 'Cȳda's farm.' The A.S. suffix *-an* became M.E. *-en* (regularly), and might easily pass into *-in*. The late form in *-ington* arose from confusion with the suffix *-ington*, as correctly used in other instances.

Kenton. N.E. of Debenham. Spelt *Keneton*, Ipm.; *Chenetuna* (with *Che* for *Ke*), D.B., p. 49; *Kenetuna*, D.B., p. 91. The A.S. *c* becomes *ch* before short *e*, but remains hard before a

long one, as in Kenelm, from A.S. *Cēnhelm*. Hence Kene- represents A.S. *Cēnan*, gen. of *Cēna*, a known name. The sense is 'Cēna's farm.' Cf. mod. E. Keene.

KETTLEBASTON. Near Bildeston. Spelt *Kettilbarston* in 1813; in Beauties of England, xiv. 216; *Kettleberstone*, Ipm.; and (in Copinger) *Cutelberston*, *Ketelberston*; so that *r* must be supplied before the *s*. D.B., p. 177, gives *Kitelbeornastuna*, which agrees with the known personal name *Cytelbearn*, *Cytelbarn*, *Ketelbarn*; lit. 'Cytel's or Cetel's son,' from A.S. *bearn*, O. Merc. *barn*, O. Norse *barn*, 'child.' The sense is 'Cytelbarn's farm,' or 'farm of Cytel's son.' Cytel is the same as the Norse name Ketill; and Ketelbern occurs as a Norse name (Björkman).

KIRTON, or KIRKTON. N.W. of Felixstowe. Spelt *Kirketone*, R.B.; *Kirketune*, H.R.; *Cherchetuna*, D.B., p. 229, which is an Englished form. But Kirkton is of Norse origin; from the O. Norse *kirkja*, church. The sense is 'church-town' or 'church-farm.'

LEISTON. To the E. of Saxmundham. Spelt *Leyston*, H.R.; but this is a contracted form, since it appears as *Lestaneston* in Ipm., p. 218, col. 1; *Leiston*, D.B., p. 59. It does not seem to correspond in position to *Leofstanestuna* in D.B., pp. 121, 123; but it represents the same name. The A.S. form was *Lēofstānes tūn*, or 'Lēofstan's farm.' It is quite likely that Leiston arose from the shortening of *-stonston* to *-ston*; to avoid repetition.

LEVINGTON. S.E. of Ipswich. Spelt *Levington*, Ipm.; *Levintone*, R.B.; *Leuentona*, D.B., p. 251; *Leuetuna*, D.B., p. 121. It is clear that the insertion of *g* is comparatively late. It represents the A.S. *Lēofan tūn*; i.e. 'Lēofa's farm.' Lēofa was a pet-name for Lēofrīc, or for other names beginning with Lēof.

MARKET WESTON, i.e. west town; see WESTON.

MELTON. Near Woodbridge. Spelt *Melton*, T.N.; *Meltuna*, D.B., p. 25. [N.B.—The reference in Kemble's Index to Meltun

is wrong; the charter relates to Kent, and has the forms Meletun, Melentun, but not Meltun.] Copinger also gives the forms *Meltoune* and *Malton*; the last is doubtful. The forms suggest a compound word, not a name followed by *-ton*; because *l* and *t* are in immediate contact. Perhaps we may here take *mel* as a Norse word, as in the place-name MELLIS (see p. 124). The sense will be then given by the Norw. *mel*, a sandbank along a river-course, which in the present case is the Orwell. That is, it will mean 'farm near a sandbank.' Note: in the Glossary to Thorpe's Diplomatorium, he explains Methelton as meaning Melton (Suff.). This can hardly be right, and it contradicts his own suggestion at p. 591, that Methelton means Middleton.

MIDDLETON. Near Westleton; Kelly describes it as 3 miles S. of Darsham station, on the river Minsmere. There are many Middletons, and some of them are strangely shortened to Milton, as good evidence proves. Spelt *Mideltuna*, D.B., p. 24; *Middeltuna*, D.B., p. 63; and Copinger cites the forms *Medilton*, *Middilton*, *Midelton*. It means 'middle farm,' as in other cases, though the point of the application is not obvious. Thorpe, in his Diplomatorium, p. 591, equates Middleton with the A.S. Metheltun, which I believe to be wrong.

MOULTON. E. of Newmarket. Spelt *Muletone*, R.B.; *Muleton*, T.N.; *Muletuna*, D.B., p. 184. A.S. *Mūlan tūn*; in Thorpe, Diplomat., p. 508. The sense is 'Mula's farm.'

NACTON. S.E. of Ipswich. Spelt *Naketon*, H.R.; *Naketune*, R.B.; *Nachetuna* (with *che* for *ke*), D.B., p. 251. The prefix is not English, but Norse; from the O. Norse *Nakki*, gen. *Nakka* (Rygh). The sense is 'Nakki's farm.'

NEWTON, near Sudbury. OLD NEWTON, near Haughley. Newton means 'new town,' or 'new farm'; but the older one of the pair has the extraordinary name of *Old* Newton, as it is older than the Conquest, and is called *Niwetuna* in D.B., p. 159, and *Newetuna*, D.B., p. 140; from A.S. *nūve*, new. It was called Newton Vetus in 1278; see Ipm.

NORTON. S.E. of Ixworth. Spelt *Nortuna*, D.B., p. 8. For A.S. *north tūn*. The sense is 'North farm.' It lies to the north of Tostock, and may have been named from that circumstance.

NOWTON. S. of Bury. Spelt *Nottone*, R.B.; *Nawton*, V.E.; *Neotuna*, D.B., p. 153. The form of the word suggests that it is rather Norse than English. The prefix appears to be the O. Norse *naut*, cattle (E. *neat*, A.S. *nēat*). The sense is 'cattle farm.' Cf. M.E. *nowt*, neat cattle. Björkman, p. 99, gives an example in which *nouthird* means 'neat-herd.' The *ow* in Nowton is pronounced like the *ow* in *now*.

OFTON, or OFFTON. N.W. of Ipswich, but at some distance from it. Spelt *Offintone*, R.B.; *Offeton*, Ipm.; H.R.; *Offinton*, T.N.; *Offetuna*, D.B., p. 9. For A.S. *Offan tūn*; meaning 'Offa's farm.'

OULTON. W. of Lowestoft. Spelt *Oulton*, T.N.; *Olton*, H.R. Simply for *old town*, or 'old farm.' Not, however, in D.B.

PRESTON. Near Lavenham. Spelt *Prestone*, R.B.; but *Prestetona*, *Prestetune*, D.B., pp. 139, 158. Thorpe, Diplomat., p. 583, has the dat. *Prestone*, but only in a late copy of an A.S. charter. The form in D.B. suggests the A.S. *prēosta tūn*, 'town (or farm) of the priests'; from *prēosta*, gen. pl. Hardly a compound, as *prēost-tūn*, i.e. 'priest farm.'

SAPISTON. N. by E. from Ixworth. Spelt *Sapston*, Ipm.; *Sapiston*, H.R.; *Sapestuna*, R.B.; D.B., p. 171. The forms are all, unmistakeably, genitives singular; from an unknown personal name *Sap or *Sæp. The A.S. *sæp* (gen. *sæpes*) means 'sap'; and *sæppe* (gen. *sæppan*) is 'a spruce-fir.' Sap-cote is in Leics., and Kemble's Index has *Sap-cumb*; but all these throw no real light on the personal name. The sense seems to be 'Sap's farm.'

SIBTON. S. by W. from Halesworth. Spelt *Sibbeton*, Ipm.; *Sibbetone*, R.B.; *Sibeton*, H.R.; *Sibbetuna*, D.B., p. 64; *Sibetuna*, D.B., p. 24. For A.S. *Sibban tūn*; meaning 'Sibba's farm.' Sibba is a known name.

SOMERLEYTON. N.W. of Lowestoft. "For shortness called Somerley" (Kirby). Spelt *Somerleton*, H.R.; *Sumerledetuna*, D.B., pp. 6, 7. The form *Somerledeton* is in Thorpe, Diplomat., p. 583. From A.S. *Sumerlidan tūn*. *Sumerlidan* is the gen. of *Sumerlida*, occurring in the A.S. Chronicle to mean a summer-expedition, or a band of Danes who landed in the summer for plunder. But it properly refers to an individual member of such a band, and it is best to consider it so here. That is, *sumerlida* means a sailor, mariner, or one who sails over sea for plunder; such a one might afterwards settle down. The sense is, practically, that of pirate; and we might here explain the place-name as 'pirate's farm'; meaning by 'pirate' one who had once been a rover.

SOTHERTON. Two miles to the S. of Brampton. Spelt *Sutherton*, H.R.; *Sudretuna*, D.B., p. 303. For A.S. *sūthra tūn*; where *sūthra* is the comparative of *sūth*, south, and means 'more to the south.' The sense is 'farm more to the south'; perhaps with reference to Brampton, which is due N. of it, and is a larger place. See SOTTERLEY.

SPROUGHTON. W. of Ipswich. Spelt *Sprouton*, Ipm., T.N.; *Sproutune*, H.R. It has lost an *s*; for Copinger also cites the forms *Sprouston*, *Sproustun*, *Sproxton*, *Sproxtun*. From A.S. *Sprowes tūn*; the sense being 'Sprow's farm.' Sprow is a known name.

STANTON. Stanton St John's and Stanton All Saints are to the N.E. of Ixworth. Spelt *Stanton*, H.R.; *Stantuna*, D.B., p. 94. A.S. *stāntūn*, i.e. 'stone farm.'

STUSTON. Spelt *Stufton* (error for *Stuston*), H.R.; *Stutestuna*, D.B., p. 180. Copinger also gives *Stouston*, *Stutestun*. For A.S. *Stūtes tūn*; i.e. 'Stūt's farm.' The A.S. *stūt*, prov. E. *stout*, means 'a gnat, a midge'; but it is here a personal name.

STUTTON. Near the N. bank of the Stour. Spelt *Stutton*, H.R.; *Stuton*, H.R.; *Stutone*, Ipm.; *Stuttuna*, D.B., p. 279; *Stottuna* (with *o* for *u*), D.B., p. 31. A compound word;

answering to A.S. *stūt-tūn*, lit. 'stout-farm.' The prov. E. *stout* means 'a gnat, a midge'; as if it were a farm infested with midges. Prof. Moorman gives the same explanation of Stutton in the W. Riding, and explains Midgley as 'midge-lea.' See STUSTON.

SUTTON. S. by E. from Woodbridge. Spelt *Suttuna*, D.B., p. 25; *Suthtuna*, D.B., p. 73. A.S. *Sūth-tūn*; the sense is 'south farm'; perhaps with reference to Woodbridge.

TANNINGTON. N.W. of Framlingham. An altered form; for Tattenton. Spelt *Tatington*, H.R.; but *Tatintuna*, D.B., p. 95. The latter represents A.S. *Tatan-tūn*; the sense is 'Tata's farm.' Of the name Tata there are eleven examples.

TATTINGSTONE. S. of Ipswich. Spelt *Tattingeston*, Ipm.; *Tatingeston*, T.N.; *Tatingstun*, H.R.; *Tatyngeston*, Ipm. Copinger gives many spellings, but it is difficult to know whether they belong to this place or to Tannington. The spellings above answer to an A.S. form *Tatinges tūn*; lit. 'farm of Tating,' or 'of the son of Tata.' There is also a form Tatting, as in *Tattingsnad*; Birch, C.S., i. 295.

THEBERTON. Near the E. coast; N. of Leiston. Spelt *Theberton*, H.R.; Ipm. Copinger notes the form *Thebaston*; and no doubt an *s* (or *-es*) has been lost, so that it represents Theberteston. And Thebert is a very late form of the A.S. name *Thēodbeorht*, O. Merc. *Thēodberht* or *Thēdbert*. The sense is 'Thēodbeorht's farm.'

THORINGTON. S.E. of Halesworth. Spelt *Thoriton*, H.R.; *Thuritune*, H.R.; *Torentuna* (with *T* for *Th*), D.B., p. 24. For A.S. *Thoran-tūn*; as the *g* is evidently a later insertion. The name *Thora* is recorded as being that of a daughter of Thorberg, and wife of Harald Hardrada; but the A.S. form would be Thore, with the fem. nom. ending. The name *Thora* (gen. *Thoran*) would be the corresponding masculine. We may assume the masc. form as being more likely here; and the sense is then 'Thora's farm.' But an A.S. form Thora does not occur; and it can only be regarded as an Anglicised form of the O.

Norse *Thori*, variant of *Thuri*, a common Scandinavian name, of which there is an example in Kemble, Cod. Dipl., iv. 71, l. 14; and Thuri seems to be merely a reduced form of Thurir, which is a very old Scandinavian name and very common. See Björkman, p. 158; Rygh, p. 259. Hence Thorington is ultimately of Norse origin. In Bardsley's Surnames, s.v. Thor, is an instance of a late form of Thori, in the entry "Orm fil. Thore'; dated 1179 (from the Pipe Rolls).

THRANDESTON. N. of Eye. Spelt *Thrandestuna*, D.B., p. 135. The late A.S. form is *Thrandeston*; in Thorpe, Diplomat., p. 580. Evidently the prefix is the gen. of *Thrand*, a name not recorded as being of English origin, though *Thrond* is given as being that of a Dane. Of Norse origin; Rygh gives the O. Norse name *Throndr* or *Thrandr* as occurring in numerous place-names. We may drop the formative *r* of the masc. nom.; this gives, as the sense, 'Thrand's farm.'

THURLSTON, THURLESTON. The church of Whitton-cum-Thurlston is between Whitton and Thurlston (or Thurleston); to the N. by W. from Ipswich. Spelt *Thurliston*, Ipm., p. 258; but *Turoluestuna*, D.B., p. 29 (with *T* for *Th*). For the A.S. *Thurulfes tūn*, also appearing as *Turolfes tūn*. Really of Norse origin; the prefix is due to the O. Norse personal name *Thurulf*, *Thorolf*, or *Thorulf*; the original O. Norse nominative of which appears as *Thórolfr* or *Thurulfr*; corresponding to the A.S. *Thurwulf*. Hence the sense is 'Thōrolfr's farm'; and we have here a clear example of Norse influence. See Björkman, p. 102.

THURSTON. To the E. of Bury. Spelt *Thurston*, T.N.; *Torstuna*, D.B., p. 8. For A.S. *Thūres tūn*; i.e. 'Thur's farm.' *Thur* (as in Thursday) is a form of *Thor*; and *Thur-* occurs, as the former element, in many A.S. names.

There was also a *Thurstanestun* or 'Thurstan's farm' in Suffolk. But there is nothing to show whether it was Thurston. They seem to differ.

TROSTON. N.W. of Ixworth. Spelt *Troston*, Ipm.; *Trostuna*, D.B., p. 172. Copinger records the form *Throston*, which is evidently nearer to the original. But further, the syllable *-ing-*

must be restored, as the dat. form *Trostingtūne* occurs in Birch, C.S., iii. 630, in Ælfhelm's Will. This takes us back to the original form *Throstinga tūn*. From the Norse personal name *Thröstr* (lit. 'thrush'), which yielded several place-names beginning with *Trost-* or *Troste-*; see Rygh. The sense is 'farm of the sons of Thröstr.'

UBBESTON. S.W. of Halesworth. Spelt *Ubbeston*, H.R.; *Hubbeston* (with *H* wrongly prefixed), T.N.; *Upbestuna* (with *pb* for *bb*), D.B., p. 269. The gen. *Ubbes* suggests a nom. *Ubb*, not an A.S. name, but borrowed from the Danish *Ubbi*, recorded by Rygh as being specifically Danish, not Icelandic. The sense is 'Ubbi's farm.'

WALTON. N. of Felixstowe. Also (later) known as Walton St Felix, because a monastery of St Felix was built there; see FELIXSTOWE (above). Spelt *Waleton*, H.R.; *Waletuna*, D.B., p. 118. The corresponding A.S. form is *Wēala tūn*, the 'farm (or enclosure) of the Welshmen'; from the nom. sing. Wealh, a foreigner, a Welshman. The same explanation applies to the two Waltons in the W. Riding. In no way connected with E. *wall*.

WENHASTON. Between Halesworth and Blythburgh. Spelt *Wenhaston*, H.R., Ipm.; but *Wenadestuna*, D.B., p. 24. The prefix occurs in an A.S. charter, in Birch, C.S., ii. 529, as *Wǽneardes* and *Wéneardes*; it is spelt both ways in the same line. In both cases an *h* has been dropped, and the right form of the nom. is *Wēnheard*. The sense is 'Wēnheard's farm'; or, in Mercian spelling, 'Wēnhard's farm.'

WESTLETON. Spelt *Westleton*, H.R.; Ipm.; *Westletuna*, D.B., p. 66; but *Westlentuna*, D.B., p. 63; *Westledestuna*, D.B., p. 319. The last is the fullest form, and must be selected. *Westledes* represents an A.S. *west-lēodes*, gen. of *west-lēod*, a compound word. *Lēod* means 'a man'; and *west-lēod* is 'a man from the west.' (Note that, in Beda's Eccl. Hist., iv. 1, the A.S. translation has the gen. pl. *ēast-lēoda*, i.e. 'of men from the east,' where the Latin original has *orientalium*.) The meaning is 'farm of the man from the west.'

WESTON. Spelt *Weston*, H.R.; *Westuna*, D.B., p. 4. The sense is 'west town' or 'west farm.' It is W. of Ellough.

WHITTON. To the N. of Ipswich. Spelt *Whitington*, Ipm., p. 258. Copinger cites several equivalent forms, such as *Whitinton*, *Whittington*, *Whytingtone*, *Whytyngton*; showing that the name has been contracted. It is the same name as Whittington in Worc., spelt *Huitingtūn* in an A.S. charter; in Birch, C.S., i. 497. The full A.S. form is *Hwītinga tūn*; the sense is 'farm of the Whitings' or 'of the sons of White.'.

WINSTON. S. of Debenham. Spelt *Wyneston*, H.R.; *Winestuna*, D.B., p. 36. But Copinger also cites *Winerston*, *Wynerston*; so that there was once an *r* before the *s*. This represents the A.S. genitive *Wynheres*, as occurring in *Wynheres stig*; in Birch, C.S., i. 334, footnote 5. Wynhere is a known name. The sense is 'Wynhere's farm.'

WISTON, or WISSINGTON; near Nayland. Of course the latter is the older form. Spelt *Wysinton*, H.R. But this is shortened from a much more complex name, as we learn from Ælfflæd's Will, in Birch, C.S., iii. 602, where we find Wiswythetun mentioned in connexion with Lavenham (about 11 miles from Wiston in a direct line), Bildeston (at the same distance from it), and Polstead (within four miles of it). There is thus a presumption that Wiston and Wysinton (in H.R.) are shortened forms of Wiswythetun. Copinger also cites *Wisweton* as a form of Wiston, which clearly points to the same form. If we accept this hypothesis, we must enquire into its meaning. It is not derived from a personal name, but is descriptive. *Wis* may be explained as short for the A.S. *wisc*, 'a meadow,' a word discussed in the Phil. Soc. Trans., 1895–8, p. 542; and *withe* is for *withig*, a withy or willow. The sense will then be 'farm of the field-willow.' For *wisc*, see Birch, C.S., ii. 412.

WOOLVERSTONE. Near the S.W. bank of the Orwell. Spelt *Wlferstun* (for *Wulferstun*), H.R.; *Vlverestuna* (with *V* for *U*), D.B., p. 30; *Hulferestuna* (with *H* wrongly prefixed), D.B., p. 279. These represent the A.S. *Wulfheres tūn*; and the sense is 'Wulfhere's farm.' Wulfhere was a very common name.

WORLINGTON. Near Mildenhall. Spelt *Wredelington*, H.R.; *Wredlington*, Ipm.; *Wirilintona*, D.B., p. 149. Copinger also cites *Wridelyngton*, *Wrethelyngton*, *Writhelington*, *Wredelyngeton*, &c. The prefix evidently represents a tribal name, of which the gen. pl. appears as *Wredelinga*, *Wridelinga*, *Wrethelinga*, or *Writhelinga*. But all of these are unknown forms. The sense is 'farm of the Wrethelings or Writhelings,' or 'of the sons of Wrethel or Writhel.'

WYVERSTONE. W. by N. from Mindlesham. Spelt *Wiverston*, Ipm.; *Wiuertestuna* (with *t* for *th*), D.B., pp. 57, 311; *Wiuerthestuna*, D.B., p. 82. The prefix represents the A.S. *Wīferthes*, gen. of *Wīferth*, more correctly spelt *Wīgfrith*. The sense is 'Wīgfrith's farm.'

47. TREE.

Tree, in the usual sense, occurs in Pettistree and Thedwestry.

PETTISTREE. Spelt *Petistre*, Ipm. Ipm. has also the form *Pettes-ho*. The forms *Peott*, *Piott*, and *Piot*, all given by Sweet, in his Oldest English Texts, p. 536, may be considered as Kentish variants of *Pet*, and so help to establish that form. Hence the sense is 'Pet's tree.' See Wright, O.E. Grammar, § 93. The form *Patta* occurs in Birch, C.S., iii. 632, and may be related.

THEDWESTRY. This is the name of a hundred; and no doubt the hundred met at a particular tree that was known by this name. Spelt *Thedwastre*, Ipm.; *Thedwardistre*, H.R.; *Thewardestreu*, D.B., p. 8; *Theodwardestreo*, D.B., p. 162. Copinger also gives *Thedwardestre*, *Thedwardstree*. The A.S. form is *Thēodweardes-trēo*; O. Merc. *Thēodwardes-trēo*; from the personal name *Thēodward*. The sense is 'Thēodward's tree.'

48. WADE.

Wade represents the A.S. *wæd*, a ford, shallow water; cognate with L. *uadum*. It occurs in Cattawade.

CATTAWADE. Copinger gives, as old spellings, *Catawade*, *Cattiwade*. *Cata* is precisely the O. Norse Kata, gen. of Kati,

a known name, whence some known places are derived (Rygh). The sense is 'Kati's ford.' Kati is masculine. Cattawade is a hamlet of Brantham, near the Stour.

49. Well.

Well, in the usual sense, occurs in Badwell Ash, Bardwell, Bradwell, Brightwell, Bromeswell, Elmswell, Eriswell, Herringswell, Orwell, Sizewell, and Wordwell; eleven examples.

Badwell Ash. Three miles due N. of Elmswell station, and near Great Ashfield. Copinger gives, as other names, *Ashfeld parva* and *Badewelle Asfelde.* Badewelle represents the A.S. *Badan wella,* i.e. 'Bada's well.' Bada is a known name. Cf. *Bædewyllan*; Birch, C.S., iii. 240 (bottom).

Bardwell. N. of Ixworth. Spelt *Berdewell,* T.N., H.R.; *Berdewella,* D.B., p. 221; *Beordewella,* D.B., p. 171. The forms point directly to an A.S. form *Beordan wella,* i.e. 'Beorda's well.' No instance of the name *Beorda* is known; but it may be related to, or an error for, the known form *Bearda,* which occurs in *Beardan-īg,* in the A.S. Chronicle, and in *Bardan-īg* (the O. Merc. form) in the Life of St Oswald by Ælfric.

Bradwell. To the S. by W. of Yarmouth. Spelt *Bradewell,* H.R.; answering to the A.S. *æt thām brādan wellan,* i.e. 'at the broad well.' Cf. Bradfield. There are at least six Bradwells.

Brightwell. Near Bucklesham; S. of Martlesham. Also known as Brightwell-cum-Foxhall. Spelt *Brihtewella,* D.B., p. 211; for A.S. *æt thām beorhtan wellan,* lit. 'at the bright (or clear) well.'

Bromeswell. Near Melton. Spelt *Brumeswelle,* Ipm. (which has also such forms as *Brumfeld, Brumlegh*); *Brumeswelle,* D.B., p. 214; *Bromeswella,* D.B., p. 25; *Brameswella,* D.B., p. 75. Of the three forms in D.B., we must select the first, as agreeing with Ipm.; whilst the second can be accounted for by the fact that Norman scribes frequently wrote *om* for *um* when the *u* is short. The third form, with *a,* must be wrong, as it suits neither the old nor the modern spellings.

The name Brum occurs in Searle; and we may conclude that the A.S. form must have been *Brumes-wella*, meaning 'Brum's well.' The modern spelling was probably affected by the influence of A.S. *brōm*, 'broom'; i.e. the plant so called. This was certainly the case with Bromsgrove (Worc.), which really means 'Brēm's grove,' as the old spellings prove; see Duignan's Place-Names of Worcestershire.

Elmswell. Spelt *Elmeswell*, H.R.; *Elmeswellan*, D.B., p. 168. Here Elmes cannot refer to *elm* (the tree), as that would have formed the compound Elmwell. The presence of *-es* shows that *Elmes* represents the gen. case of a proper name, which has certainly been contracted. It must be short for *Elmeres*, which occurs in Birch, C.S., iii. 58, l. 4 from bottom, and is also spelt *Almeres* in the last line of the page. *Elmeres* or *Almeres* represents *Ælmeres*, a later form of *Ælfmæres*; and the oldest form of Elmswell must have been *Ælfmæres wella*, i.e. 'Ælfmær's well.' There is an Elmsall in Yorkshire, which similarly represents an A.S. *Ælfmæres halh*, i.e. 'Ælfmær's haugh.' This is Prof. Moorman's explanation in his Place-Names of the West Riding.

Eriswell. Spelt *Erswelle*, T.N.; *Erswell*, H.R.; *Hereswella* (with *H* wrongly prefixed), D.B., p. 244. Evidently a contracted form, as shown by the spelling *Evereswell* in Ipm., p. 6. *Everes* represents the O. Merc. *Eferes*, A.S. *Eoferes*, gen. of *Efer*, *Eofer*, personal name, the literal sense being 'a boar'; and it is cognate with L. *aper*. The meaning is 'Efer's well.' Compare Eversden, Cambs.; Eversley, Hants.

Herringswell. Spelt *Heringeswell*, Ipm.; *Haringwell*, T.N.; but older forms are *Hernigawella*, D.B., p. 223; *Herningawella*, D.B., p. 235; *Hyrningwella*, D.B., p. 156. As D.B. sometimes has *e* for A.S. *y*, these forms all come from an A.S. **Hyrninga wella*, i.e. 'Hyrnings' well,' or 'well of the Hyrnings' or 'of the sons of Hyrn'; or, possibly, 'of Horn.' At any rate, Hyrning is a similar name to Horning; for which see Horningsheath.

ORWELL. The name of a river; but the river was named from a well from which it took its rise; and Orwell, Cambs., occurs as a place-name. The Cambs. place-name represents an A.S. *ōran-wella*, where *ōran* is the combining form of *ōra*, a border, brink, edge, or margin; and the sense is 'well beside the brink,' or 'well beneath a brink.' In the A.S. Chronicle, there is mention of a river *Arwe* (i.e. 'arrow'), which is supposed to be the Orwell. It may be the same river but it is not the same name.

SIZEWELL. A hamlet in the parish of Leiston. It is due E. of Leiston, and on the coast. I know of no old spelling; but Copinger quotes *Siswell*. Cf. Siston, Glouc. The A.S. form was probably *Sisan wella*, i.e. 'Sisa's well.' The A.S. Sisa is implied in the form Siso, quoted in Searle from a foreign source.

WORDWELL. Two miles N.W. of Ingham station (Kelly). Spelt *Wridewella*, D.B., p. 172; *Wride-wella*, Birch, C.S. iii. 219, l. 4. For A.S. *wrīda wella*, 'well of the thicket,' or 'of (the clump of) young shoots'; where *wrīda* is the gen. pl. of *wrīd*. The A.S. *wrīd* is the prov. E. *ride*, 'the quantity of wood growing from one stump, a root-stock in coppice.' 'A *ride* of hazle, &c., is a whole plump of sprigs growing out of one root.' Particularly used of the hazel; cf. A.S. *hæsel-wrīd*, 'hazel-ride.'

50. WICH, WICK.

The suffix *-wich* or *-wick* represents the A.S. *wīc*, a dwelling; hence, a village. It occurs in Dunwich, Hardwick, Ipswich, and Walberswick.

DUNWICH. Spelt *Donewic*, T.N.; H.R.; *Duneuuic*, D.B., p. 62. A trisyllabic form; representing the A.S. *Dūnan wīc*, i.e. 'Dūna's village.' The name *Dūna* occurs in *Dūnan-hēafod* and *Dūnan-hyl* (both in Kemble). It is possible that the name was suggested by an older one. Beda, Hist. Eccl. ii. 15, has "in ciuitate Domnoc"; for which the A.S. version has "on Dommocceastre." Domnoc is not English; but may be Celtic.

In fact, we are told that it is so in McClure's British Place-names, p. 173, note 1, where it is said that Dumnoc involves a term meaning 'deep,' with *-oc* as an adjectival termination; i.e. (as I suppose) the sense is 'deepish'; and it signifies 'a port with a deep-water approach.' The base is the Indo-germanic **dubnos*, **dumnos*, 'deep,' whence the Old Irish *fu-domain*, 'deep,' Welsh *dwfn* (fem. *dofn*); see Stokes-Fick, Wortschatz der keltischen Spracheinheit, p. 153.

Hardwick. A new parish, one mile W. by S. from Bury (Kelly). Spelt *Herdwice*, R.B.; *Herewic*, H.R. *Herdewic* answers to the A.S. *Heordewīcum*, dat. pl.; spelt *Heordewīcan* in Thorpe, Diplomat., p. 594; for the A.S. *wīc* was frequently used in the pl., as meaning 'dwellings.' The A.S. *heorde* is the gen. of *heorde*, a herd, a flock. The sense is 'herd-dwellings' or 'herd-village.' The place referred to in Thorpe is Hardwick in Northants. The derivation from the dat. pl. may explain why the suffix remains as *wick*, and did not become *wich*.

Ipswich. Spelt *Gipeswiche*, later *Gippewich*, Ipm.; *Gipewic'*, H.R.; *Gypeswich*, Robert of Gloucester; *Gipeswiz*, D.B., p. 19 (with $z = ts$, for *ch*). A.S. *Gipes wīc*; A.S. Chronicle, an. 993 (Parker MS.); where *Gipes* is the gen. of *Gipi* (later *Gipe*), a name not otherwise known. Thus the sense is 'Gipi's village.' The *G* before *i* was pronounced as mod. E. *y*, and the former *i* was short; so that Gipi was pronounced *yippy*. The Norman disliked initial *y* before *i*, and dropped it. Hence it took the sound of *Ippy's wich*, and finally *Ipswich*.

Walberswick. Spelt *Walberdeswyk*, H.R. Other spellings in Copinger do not tell us any more; but the A.S. equivalent form is obvious, viz. *Wealhbeorhtes wīc*; O. Merc. *Walhberhtes wīc*. *Wealhbeorht* occurs three times, and in two instances is also found as *Walbert*. The sense is 'Walhberht's village.' Or *-wick* may have been derived from the dat. pl. *wīcum*; see Hardwick.

51. Wold.

Wold represents the O. Merc. *wald*, A.S. *weald*, a wood, forest; just as *old* is from O. Merc. *ald*, A.S. *eald*. Many wolds

have lost their trees, and are now bare. The only Suffolk example is Southwold.

Southwold. Spelt *Suthwold*, Ipm., H.R.; *Suthwald*, H.R.; *Sudwolda*, D.B., p. 182 (with *d* for voiced *th*). From A.S. *sūth*, south; the sense is obvious.

52. Wood.

Only in Hazlewood; two miles N.W. of Aldeburgh station (Kelly). The sense is obvious.

53. Worth.

Worth is related to mod. E. *worth*, value; and meant a property, holding, farm, an enclosed homestead. The A.S. form is *worth*. Examples are: Braiseworth, Chelsworth, Dunningworth, Halesworth, Hepworth, Ickworth, Ixworth, Timworth, Worlingworth.

Braiseworth, or Brayesworth. Spelt Breisworth in Kirby. S. of Eye. Spelt *Bryseworth*, H.R.; *Breseworth*, Ipm.; *Briseworde*, D.B., p. 80. Copinger also notes forms beginning with *Brayss*, *Breis*, *Bres*. The use of *y*, *e*, *i* after *Br* points to the A.S. *y* or *ȳ*; and suggests a form *Brysan, gen. of *Brysa. That there was such a name is further supported by the occurrence of such place-names as Bris-ley, Bris-ton, Norf.; and still more by the forms *Bruse-lowe*, *Bris-ingham*, *Brise-wike* in the index to Ipm. I suggest the sense 'Brȳsa's farm.' Cf. A.S. *brȳsan*, to bruise.

Chelsworth. Near Bildeston. Spelt *Chelesworth*, H.R.; but *Cerleswrda*, D.B., p. 176. The D.B. form answers to A.S. *Ceorles wyrth*; Birch, iii. 312; which refers to this very place. *Ceorles* is the gen. of A.S. *ceorl*, a husbandman, countryman. The sense is 'husbandman's farm'; lit. 'churl's farm.'

Dunningworth. Tunstall-cum-Dunningworth; near Aldeburgh. *Duniworda*, D.B., p. 130. Copinger gives the forms *Donyngworthe*, *Dunnyngworthe*. For A.S. *Dunninga wyrth*; i.e. 'farm of the Dunnings' or 'of the sons of Dunn.' Both Dunn and Dunning are known names.

HALESWORTH. So spelt; H.R.; T.N.; Ipm. D.B. has *Halesuuorda*, p. 25; and *Healesuurda*, p. 37. The name Halington (prob. Hallington, Lincs.) occurs in Birch, C.S. i. 453 (bottom); with reference to a tribe or family of Halings; from a proper name *Hæl or *Hal, not otherwise known. The sense may be 'Hæl's farm.'

HEPWORTH. Spelt *Hepwrth*, H.R.; *Hepworda*, D.B., p. 170. Copinger also has *Hepeworth*, *Hipeworth*. There does not seem to be any reason why the prefix may not be the A.S. *hēope*, M.E. *hepe*, a *hip*, i.e. the fruit of the dog-rose. The sense may be 'hip-worth,' or 'farm of wild roses.' There is a Hepworth in Yks., for which D.B. has Heppeword. Cf. Hēope-bricge, lit. 'hip-bridge'; Birch, C.S., iii. 567, l. 4.

ICKWORTH. Near Horningsheath. Spelt *Ikeworth*, Ipm.; *kkewortha*, D.B., p. 154, where *I* is omitted by mistake. Spelt *Iccaworth* in a late A.S. charter, Kemble, iv. 222, l. 2. For *Iccanworth*; *Iccan* is the gen. of *Icca*, and occurs in *Iccan-ora* (ill spelt *Iccannore*), in Birch, C.S., i. 99. The sense is 'Icca's farm.'

IXWORTH. N.E. of Bury. Spelt *Ixeworthe*, R.B.; *Ixewrth*, H.R.; *Ixewrð*, D.B., p. 174; Copinger also has *Giswortha*, *Gyscewurde*. It is the A.S. *Gyxeweorth*; Birch, C.S., iii. 219. The prefix must have been, originally, a weak genitive, and the vowel must have been *i*, not *y*; for *G* remains hard before *y*, but is lost before *i*. Hence the original form must have been *Gixan-wearth*; and the sense is 'Gixa's farm'; where Gixa represents Gisca. Gisca may stand for *Giseca, a diminutive of Gisa, which is a known name. Cf. Gis-wulf.

TIMWORTH. N. of Bury. Spelt *Timwrtha*, D.B., p. 165; *Timeworda*, D.B., p. 221. For *Tīman weorth*; and the sense is 'Tīma's farm.' Tīma is a known name.

WORLINGWORTH. Spelt *Wirlingworth*, H.R.; *Wyrlingwortha*, D.B., p. 175. But Copinger also has *Welringwrthe*, *Wilrincgawertha*, so that the *rl* was once *lr*. The A.S. form *Wilrincgawyrth* is in Thorpe, Diplomat., p. 567. *Wilrincga* is short for

Wilheringa; and the sense is 'farm of the Wilherings,' or 'of the family of Wilhere.' Wilhere is a known name. Cf. *Wilheringa* (for Wilheringa wīc); Birch, C.S., ii. 141.

54. Yard.

From A.S. *geard*, an enclosure. It occurs in Bruisyard.

Bruisyard. N.W. of Saxmundham. Spelt *Bursyard*, H.R.; *Bursyerd*, Ipm.; *Buresiart*, D.B., pp. 33, 117. The evidence seems to be conclusive as to the fact that an older form was *Bures-geard*. *Bures* is certainly a much contracted form, but, fortunately, it is easy to restore it by comparison with Burslem (Staffs.) and Buscot (Berks.). In the former, Burs- represents the O. Merc. *Burgwardes*, A.S. *Burgweardes*, see Duignan, Place-Names of Staffs.; and in the latter, Bus- is short for Burs-, and represents the same prefix; see my Place-Names of Berks. Hence we may explain Bruisyard as representing 'Burhward's yard' or 'enclosure.'

55. Some other names.

Having thus considered the names which certainly seem to be compounds, with known suffixes, I consider first Cornard, which is of like formation, and lastly some names that are of different or uncertain formation, and cannot well be included in the foregoing sets.

Cornard. To the E. of Sudbury; called Great Cornard; there is also Little Cornard, not far off. Spelt *Cornerth*, T.N.; *Cornerd*, H.R.; *Cornerthe*, H.R.; *Cornerda*, D.B., p. 159; *Cornierda*, D.B., pp. 12, 223. The forms with *th* must be the more original; and of these we may take Cornerth as the type. The former part of the word is *corn* (A.S. *corn*); the latter part is probably not the A.S. *eorthe*, mod. E. *earth*, but the rarer A.S. *earth*, plough-land, not given in the A.S. Dictionary, because it is commoner in the 'modified' form *ierth* or *yrth* or *irth*; see *irth* in Bosworth and Toller, and *earth* (2) in N.E.D. The actual form *earth* (dat. *earthe*) occurs in Birch,

C.S., ii. 195, l. 22; and in the compound *earth-land* in Birch, C.S., i. 502, l. 6 (with *medwe-land*, i.e. meadow-land, in the following line); and again in the same, ii. 40, l. 4 from the bottom. The sense is 'plough-land for corn.' The form *Cornierda* in D.B. may be compared with the compound *for-ierth* in Birch, C.S., ii. 255, l. 14. If this be right, we may add it to the list of compounds; for which reason I place it here.

Barrow. A well-known word, meaning a funeral mound or tumulus, or sometimes simply a hill; from the M.E. *berwe*, *berewe*, A.S. *beorge*, dat. of *beorh* (O. Merc. *berh*), a hill, a barrow.

Beccles. Spelt *Beccles*, H.R.; *Becles*, T.N.; D.B., pp. 6, 178. We may also compare *Beclinge*, Ipm.; *Becclinga*, D.B., p. 116; where Beccling is a patronymic, formed from the name Beccel. Beccles is the gen. of Beccel; and stands alone as indicating the name of the possessor of the original settlement; just as we might call a farm Smith's, meaning Smith's farm. Hence the sense is 'Beccel's,' meaning a settlement of Beccel. In the A.S. Life of St Guthlac, ch. vii., there is mention of 'Beccel the priest.'

Beck Row. A hamlet of Mildenhall. The prov. E. *beck* means 'a small stream'; from the O. Norse *bekker*, a brook. "Towards the Fens [near Mildenhall] are several large Streets as big as ordinary Towns, called by the Inhabitants, *Rows*; as West Row, Beck Row, and Holywell Row"; Kirby.

Boulge. Spelt *Bulge*, Ipm.; *Bulges*, D.B., pp. 77, 134. The name must have been quite recent, at the time of the compilation of D.B. in 1086. It is obviously not of English, but of Norman origin; and D.B. preserves the correct form. *Bulges* is an Old Norman plural, answering to a later O. French *bouges*, given by Godefroy s.v. *Bouge*, s.m. 'terrain inculte et couvert de petites brandes.' It therefore signifies 'lands not yet cultivated, but covered with heather.'

Brome, or Broome. Pronounced as E. *broom*. S. by W. of Diss. Spelt *Brom*, D.B., pp. 59, 117. The mod. E. *broom*; as a plant-name. Broom was there abundant.

Bures St Mary. On the Stour; W. of Nayland. A bridge across the river leads to Bures in Essex. Spelt *Bures*, H.R., T.N., Ipm.; *Bure*, D.B., p. 223. The A.S. *būr*, a bower, cottage, was masc.; with the pl. *būras*. But this would have given a mod. E. Bowers. The preservation of a long *ū* only takes place in words of French origin. The right explanation seems to be that it is an Old Norman *bures*, pl. of *bure*, which was not a word of Latin origin, but merely borrowed from the O.H.G. and A.S. *būr*. The forms *bur*, *bure*, are given as modern Norman words in Moisy's Dict. of the Norman dialect; and he quotes the Lat. form *būrus* from a Caen chartulary; adding that Norman also possesses the dimin. *buron*, a hut. This only affects the phonology, not the sense. We may explain Bures to mean 'bowers,' i.e. a collection of cottages or huts. In the A.S. Chron., an. 1094, we find mention of a 'castel æt Bures,' i.e. a castle at Bures in Normandy, in the department of Seine Inférieure. This is a proof that Bures is Norman.

Capel. S.E. of Hadleigh. Kelly names Capel St Mary and Capel St Andrew. Spelt *Capele*, H.R.; *Capeles*, D.B., p. 25. It is interesting to see that D.B. uses the plural. The word is Norman; *capeles* is the pl. of *capele*, a chapel. The F. *chapelle* is *capele* in Old Norman; the latter form occurs in La Chanson de Roland, l. 52. The Welsh form is *capel*, not *capele*.

Clare. Spelt *Clare*, H.R.; Ipm; *Claram* (Lat. acc.), D.B., p. 218. From the A.S. *Clare*, a personal name; a witness bearing this name signs an A.S. charter dated A.D. 949; Birch, C.S., iii. 38. It can hardly have been a true A.S. name; it was very likely borrowed from L. *clārus*, illustrious. Earls of Clare took their name from this place.

Colneis. The name of a hundred, which comprised the land lying between the rivers Orwell and Deben. Spelt *Colneise*, *Colneyse*, H.R.; *Colneyse*, Ipm. D.B. has *Colenese*,

p. 118; *Colenesse*, p. 23. This is a name of extraordinary difficulty; and I can only guess at it. The forms *-nese*, *-nesse* may represent the dat. of the A.S. *ness*, a promontory, a headland; while *-neise*, *-neyse* may be the O. Norse *nesi*, dat. of the O.N. *nes*, with the same sense. The hundred of Colness does, in fact, consist of one long headland, which narrows down to Langer Point. The name, accordingly, is 'Col-ness'; where the sense of Col- is not known. But both Cole and Colne are river-names, and either will suit. I suggest that one or other of these names was the old name of the Deben; it has been shown above that Deben is a new name, due to the place-name Debenham.

Combs. S. of Stowmarket. Spelt *Combes*, Ipm.; *Cambes*, T.N.; *Cambas*, D.B., p. 21. *Cambas* is precisely the A.S. *cambas*, pl. of *camb*, a comb, a crest, a top. The sense is 'crests'; with reference, as I suppose, to hill-tops. The spelling with *a* shows that it is quite a different word from *combe*, a valley, so common in place-names.

Copdock. S.W. of Ipswich. Spelt *Copedok*, H.R.; *Coppedoc*, H.R.; *Coppedock*, Ipm.; *Coppedhak*, T.N. Obviously for A.S. *copped āc*, a 'copped' or pollarded oak. The sense is therefore 'pollard-oak.' In Birch, C.S., ii. 241, we have the same expression, but in the accusative case; 'on thā coppedan āc,' i.e. to the pollard oak.

Cove. There is a North Cove and a South Cove, near Covehithe, which is between Lowestoft and Southwold. Cove is from the A.S. *cofa*, a cove, a cave, a place of shelter. The spelling *Coua* occurs in D.B., p. 25, 66.

Ellough. S. by W. of Beccles. Kelly calls it Ellough, or Willingham All Saints, or Willough. The last name seems to be a jumble of the other two. H.R. has *Elg villa*; D.B., p. 6, has *in Elga et in Willingaham*. Copinger gives also the forms *Ellowe* and *Helw*. This difficult name can be fully explained by comparison with a name in Yorkshire. In Yorkshire Place-Names, by J. Horsfall Turner, p. 114, there is a note that a place now called Hellaby is spelt in D.B. as Elgebi

(twice). The suffix *-by* shows that the prefix *Elge-* is Norse, and the fact that the modern name begins with *H* shows that this is a D.B. spelling of *Helge-*. Rygh shows that the O. Norse personal name Helgi is extremely common, and that a large number of place-names beginning with *Helge-* (including Helgeby) are derived from it. Moreover, Helge would regularly become Helwe in Mid. Eng. (cf. the form *Helw* above), and would then necessarily become Hellow; cf. mod. E. *fellow* from O. Norse *félagi*. The dropping of initial *h* in Norman is usual, because it was not pronounced; and in this instance it has affected even the English form; so that Hellow became Ellow, of which Ellough is a mere variant. This loss of *h* is aptly illustrated by the occurrence in Ipm. of a Lincs. place-name that is spelt both as Ellowe and as Hellowe; without any modern equivalent. Hence the D.B. form Elga is exactly the O.N. *Helga*, gen. of *Helgi*; and the sense is 'Helgi's,' i.e. 'Helgi's settlement.'

Eyke. N.E. of Woodbridge. Spelt *Eyke*, Ipm. From O.N. *eik*, an oak; gen. *eikar*, *eikr*, dat. *eik*. The sense is either 'oak,' or 'at the oak,' in the dative. The diphthong *ey*, representing Mid. Eng. *ei*, is characteristic of Norse.

Groton. W. of Hadleigh. Spelt *Groten'*, H.R.; *Grotene*, Ipm.; *Grotena*, D.B., pp. 13, 158. It is obvious that the suffix was not originally *-ton*, and that it must be otherwise explained. Note that the modern form should be Groten, as it is sometimes written. The nearest A.S. form is *grot-an*, nom. pl. of *grota*, prob. 'a particle of grit,' found in *mere-grota*, a sea-pebble, a pearl (see A.S. Dict.). The sense would then be 'sands' or 'gritty plains.' Cf. prov. E. *greet*, grit, gravel, also found in the forms *grote*, *grute*, *grut*; and prov. E. *gritten*, adj. sandy. The form *grot-en* might be adjectival.

Hoxne. The name of a hundred; the modern village is near the Waveney, almost due N. of Debenham. Spelt *Hoxene*, H.R.; *Hoxana*, D.B., p. 197. The form exactly answers to A.S. *Hoxena*, gen. pl. of a nom. pl. *Hoxan*, which might very well represent the name of a small tribe of settlers, just as we find mention of the Wixan (see the A.S. Dictionary), and of the

celebrated tribe of Seaxan. We may therefore explain the name as meaning 'settlement of the Hoxan.' I owe this suggestion (which is to me convincing) to Mr A. Anscombe, whom I consulted in this instance. The modern pronunciation, as Hoxen, results from the loss of the inflectional *-e*.

IKEN. On the S. bank of the river Alde, and almost due W. of Aldeburgh. Spelt *Ikene*, H.R.; T.N.; *Ykene*, R.B., T.N. Here the form suggests an A.S. gen. pl. Iccena; allied to the proper name Icca which occurs in ICKWORTH. The nom. pl. would be Iccan; and the sense would be 'a settlement of the Iccan,' or 'of the followers of Icca.' Not from Ica, with one *c*, as this would certainly give Iche. Cf. A.S. Icena, the river Itchen.

LANDGUARD. "Landguard Fort stands on the extreme Western point of this parish"; Kelly, s.v. Felixstow. The present name is an ingenious adaptation, as if it were a 'landguard,' or a fort to guard the land, which is not a distinctive feature in forts; they all do the same. In Philips' map it is Landger Point, where the latter syllable is *-ger*. In the Beauties of England, 1813, xiv. 235, it is Languard, with the former syllable as *Lan-*; and at p. 273 of the same we read that "here was a ridge, two miles along the sea, called Langerston, dangerous to ships"; so that in 1813 the name was really Langer or Langar, which may be compared with Langar in Notts. So also in Kirby, p. 91:—"*Langer-Fort*, and not *Landguard Fort*, as it is corruptly and vulgarly called." There is still a Langer Common (misspelt Landguard on Ordnance map) in Felixstowe parish. The etymology is easy, viz. from A.S. *lang gāra*, i.e. 'long gore,' which precisely describes it. A *gore* is a promontory, or a triangular piece of a land with a pointed end; from A.S. *gār*, a spear, point.

LOES. The name of a hundred. Spelt *Lose*, H.R.; T.N.; *Losa*, H.R.; D.B., pp. 11, 215. It perhaps represents A.S. *Hlossan*, gen. of *Hlossa*, a personal name. We find it in *Hlossan-ham*; in Birch, C.S., i. 207. If this be right, the sense refers to a settlement 'of Hlossa.' Cf. Hlos-hrycg, Hlos-wudu; both in Kemble's Index.

LOUND. N. by W. from Lowestoft. Spelt *Lunda*, D.B., p. 6. Ipm. has Lund, Lound (both in Notts.). Not English, but a well-known Norse word: from O. Norse *lundr*, a grove: cf. Lund in Sweden. The sense is 'grove.'

MELLIS (see p. 104). Spelt *Melles*, R.B.; Ipm.: D.B., p. 181. It is explained by comparing it with the prov. E. *meal*, "a sandbank or sand-hill, frequent in proper names: gen. in the plural"; E.D.D. From Norw. *mel*, a sandbank along a lake or river-course; O. Norse *melr*, a sandbank overgrown with bent-grass, or *gen.* a sandbank whether overgrown or bare: frequent in Icel. local names.

ONEHOUSE. Spelt *Onhus*, H.R.; *Anhus*, D.B., p. 160; *Anehus*, D.B., p. 311; *Annhus* (not *Anuhus*), D.B., p. 121. It is the A.S. *ān hūs*, lit. 'one house.' It is now a hamlet of scattered houses, but there is still a Onehouse Hall. In the Beauties of England, 1813, xiv. 210, we are told that "on the site of the old hall... a farmhouse has been built." Probably that old hall, or a much older house on the same site, was the original One House.

REDE, or REED. S.S.W. of Bury. Spelt *Rede*, Ipm.: *Reoda*, D.B., p. 155; *Reda*, D.B., pp. 202, 222. For A.S. *Rēadan*; as in Readan-clif, -cumb, -dīc, -flōd, -ford, &c.; all in Kemble's Index. *Rēadan* is the gen. case of *Rēad*, 'the Red,' still common as Reade, Read, Reid, &c. The sense is '(settlement) of the Red one.'

RISHANGLES. S. by E. from Eye. Spelt *Rishanggeles*, Ipm.; but *Risangra*, D.B., p. 85. The prefix is A.S. *risc*, a rush. The suffix seems to be the A.S. *hangra*, of which the true sense is 'a hanging wood on a hill-side'; see the Crawfurd Charters, p. 134. The sense is 'rushy slopes, with trees upon them.'

SNAPE. N. of the Alde above Aldeburgh. Spelt *Snape* H.R.; *Snapes*, D.B., p. 71. Cf. A.S. *snæp*, as in the following: ūt ōð mearc andlang dūn and *snæp*, 'out as far as the boundary along the down, &c.'; the sense of *snæp* being here unknown; see Birch, C.S., iii. 362. But the E.D.D. has *snape*, 'a spring, a moist, boggy place in a field'; known in Dors., Som., and Devon. This may be the right explanation here as Snape is in a low situation.

Stoven. N.W. of Southwold. Spelt *Stoune*, D.B., p. 106, with *u* for *v*; *Stouone*, D.B., p. 251, with *u* for *v*. In the Cursor Mundi, 8036, is the line:—"Thai three stod on a *stouen*," they three stood on a *stovin*; where other MSS. have *stalke*, a stalk, or *stocke*, a stock. And the E.D.D. explains *stovin*, a stump or stake, the part of a hawthorn left in a hedge after 'splashing' it; Leicestershire. A.S. *stofn*, a stem, tree-stump; Icel. *stofn*, a stump of a cut tree. This is a good example of the frequently trivial origin of a place-name. It merely means 'stump of a cut tree.'

Thwaite. Near the river Dove; S. by W. from Eye. A well-known word in the North; from the O. Norse *thweit*, a clearing in woods. So that the sense is 'a clearing.' It is chiefly remarkable for its occurrence so far to the South. There are two more Thwaites in Norfolk.

Weybread. S.W. of Bungay. Spelt *Weybred*, H.R.; *Weybredd*, Ipm.; *Weibrada*, D.B., pp. 11, 98. A.S. *wegbrǣde*, lit. 'way-breadth,' i.e. the broad plant by the wayside; a name for the common plantain, from its flat growth. It merely means 'plantain.'

Woolpit. Between Bury and Stowmarket. Spelt *Wulpet*, H.R.; *Wolpet*, *Wulpet*, Ipm.; *Wlpet*, H.R.; *Wlfpeta*, D.B., p. 164. It answers to A.S. *Wulfpyt*; a wolf-pit; a pit in which to catch wolves. The dat. pl. *wulfpyttun* is in Birch, C.S., iii. 134. The sense is therefore 'wolf-pit.' We should particularly notice the dialectal (Suffolk) *pet*, in place of the A.S. *pyt*, E. *pit*. The same form, *pet*, occurs in Old Frisian; and *Wulpet* may have been due to Frisian influence.

56. Concluding Remarks.

Owing to the large number of place-names, this investigation has necessarily taken up much space; but room must be found for a brief statement of general results.

The traces of Celtic are extremely slight, even among the river-names. The Kennet and the Ouse are of Celtic origin;

but the Butley river was named from Butley; the Deben from Debenham; the Breton, afterwards shortened to Bret, from Brettenham; the Gipping, from Gipping; the Thet, from Thetford; the Box, from Boxford; the Yox, from Yoxford; and the Alde, from Aldeburgh. The Blythe, the Orwell, and the Waveney are clearly English in form. The Lark seems to have been made out of Lackford, and the Linnet is its playfully named companion. The Welshman, or 'foreigner,' is alluded to in Walpole, Walton, and Walsham.

There were certainly Frisians settled in Suffolk, viz. at Freston, Friston, and Fressingfield. The Frisian *ē* (for A.S. *ā*) is apparent in Bredfield; it is even likely that the Frisian *e* (for A.S. *y*) is seen in Gedding, Hertest, Kedington, Nedging, and Woolpet (older form of Woolpit).

The traces of Danes and Norsemen are not very numerous, but quite clear and decided. There are four names ending in *-by*—Ashby, Barnby, Risby and Wilby; Baylham probably contains the O. Icelandic *bœli*, 'a farm.' Ingham contains the O.N. *eng*, a meadow; and Kirkley and Kirton show the Norse form of 'church.' Bungay, Eyke, Lound, Thwaite are all Norse; and Norse names or prefixes occur in Blundeston, Cratfield, Drinkstone, Flixton, Gisleham, Grundisborough, Gunton, Hasketon, Kesgrave, Kettlebaston, Kettleburgh, Laxfield, Ringsfield, Ringshall, Risbridge, Thrandeston, Ubbeston, and Uggeston. There is a Norse suffix in Lowes-toft.

Finally, there are even traces of Norman; as in Boulge, Bures, and Capel; and the -le- in Walsham-le-Willows.

As to the names that are purely English, they show decided traces of belonging to the Mercian or Midland dialect, as distinguished from the Anglo-Saxon or Southern; which is a matter of no small importance. It shows that we may fairly include Suffolk amongst the rather limited number of counties that have helped to build up that East-Midland dialect which was destined to supersede all others and to become the speech of the empire.

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